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THE PHOENIX AND THE LADDER

The Rise and Decline of the Christian View of History

By C. A. Patrides

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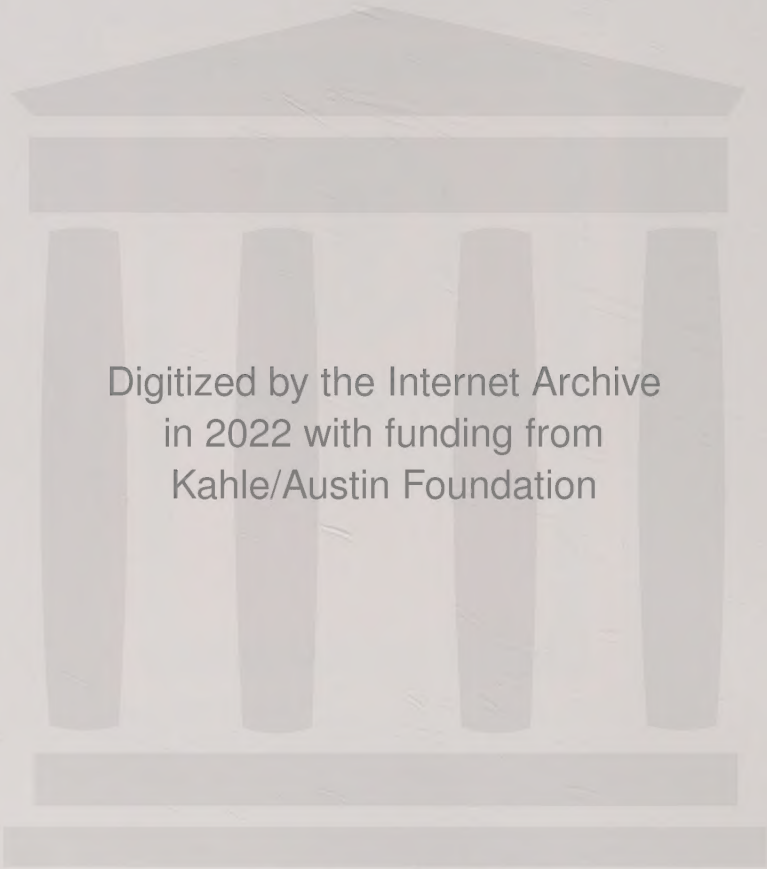
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The Rise and Decline of the Christian View of History

By C. A. Patrides

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we looke upon God, in History, in matter of fact, upon things done, and set before our eyes; and so that Majesty, and that holy amazement, is more to us then ever it was to any other Religion.

JOHN DONNE

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SHELLEY, having resorted to the symbolism of the wind and the leaves in a number of poems, once cited two of his precedents, one in Homer, the other in Ecclesiastes.[1] Deferring for the moment discussion of the latter, here is the passage from Homer:

> Like leaves on trees the race of men is found,
> Now green in youth, now withering on the ground;
> Another race the following spring supplies,
> They fall successive, and successive rise:
> So generations in their courses decay,
> So flourish these, when those are passed away.[2]

The idea of recurrence underlying these lines is one of the great commonplaces of ancient Greek thought. Throughout the millenium after Homer, the Greeks—generally, at least—viewed temporality as a cyclic movement. From Greece the idea passed to Rome, where it was summarily stated by Seneca when he wrote that "all things are connected in a sort of circle; they flee and they are pursued. Night is close at the heels of day, day at the heels of night; summer ends in autumn, winter rushes after autumn, and winter softens into spring; all nature in this way passes, only to return."[3] This view is encountered almost everywhere we turn, whether to Polybius' affirmation of "the cycle of political revolution" (πολιτειῶν ἀνακύκλωσις), or to Virgil's celebration of the circling centuries ("magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo"), or to Marcus Aurelius' certitude of the "periodical renovation" of all things (περιοδικὴ παλιγγενεσία)[4]—nor is it necessary to insist on its explicitness in both Plato and Aristotle. Yet this widespread persuasion that events occur in a series of cycles did not constitute, either for the Greeks or for the Romans, an interpretation of history, and still less a "philosophy" of history. Such a possibility was not even entertained by them, not indeed because they were unconcerned with history, but because the very nature of the cycles deprived history of any ultimate "meaning"—witness even Polybius, who regarded Rome's conquest of the world as

the apex of history, yet still viewed the Roman era as the crest of one of numberless waves endlessly crashing against the shores of the eternal world. This is not to say, of course, that the Greeks and the Romans deemed history useless. We are well aware, after all, of their reiterated conviction that history is a teacher of the first importance: a logical enough deduction when events are said to occur in an interminable series of flux and reflux.[5] But our parents in Greece and Rome also realized that what may be inevitable and predictable in general is not necessarily so in particular—a realization which, appended to their belief that "only what is unchanging can be known," contributed to the creation of a decisive "anti-historical" tendency particularly among the Greeks.[6] Hence the absence of any surprise in the Aristotelian thesis that history is inferior to poetry; hence indeed the justice in claiming that, on the whole, the Greeks and the Romans, while vitally concerned with history, were not interested in propagating a "philosophy" of history, much less any precise and rigid "philosophy" grafted to metaphysics. Their concern was capitally with the past and the present, and with the future only insofar as the notion of recurrence afforded—within the limitations suggested—opportunities for didacticism.

The Greco-Roman "cycles" have their counterpart in nearly all other civilizations, even if they happen to be as diverse as the Aztecs are from the Hindus.[7] To move closer to the vicinity of Israel, however, is to become aware of a distinct exception to the rule,[8] while to consider the Judaeo-Christian tradition is to find history elevated to a position of unrivalled prominence and unique importance.[9]

I

According to the Book of Daniel, "the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will."[10] If such a notion was nonsense to the Greeks, to the Jews it was a natural consequence of their conception of God. For the God

of Israel is not an impersonal abstraction, dwelling beyond the confines of the universe and utterly uncommunicable. On the contrary, as the Bible repeatedly maintains, he is a "living God" —"living" in that he is actively concerned with the affairs of his creatures, always preoccupied with their fortunes, constantly interfering in the course of human events whether to chastise or to reward, to punish or to commend, to destroy or to save. The psalmist, surveying the past history of Israel, typically saw the hand of God in every event:

We have heard with our ears, O God,
Our fathers have told us,
What work thou didst in their days, in the times of old,
How thou didst drive out the heathen with thy hand, and plantedst them;
How thou didst afflict the people, and cast them out.
For they got not the land in possession by their own sword,
Neither did their own arm save them:
But thy right hand, and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance.[12]

As for the future and the multitude of dangers still encompassing Israel, the psalmist continued:

Through thee will we push down our enemies:
Through thy name will we tread them under that rise up against us.

Such an attitude is not so much a "philosophy" as a matter of faith; but if we wish to state it in more sophisticated terms, we might concur that history is "a process determined by the creative act of God vertically from above," or that "the temporal is inwardly sustained, saturated, pervaded by the untemporal."[13] In either case we take cognizance of the unique Jewish view that history unfolds under the vigilant eye of God, that it is acted within a sacred framework. But God, far from being a mere observer of the human drama, is directly responsible for its progress, history being, as has been said, "the arena wherein his will expresses itself as action."[14] The logical inference, which the Jews did not hesitate to draw, is that God manipulates every

aspect of the created order in accordance with his eternal plan for mankind. In the most striking manifestation of this outlook, the Jewish historians generally and the great prophets particularly asserted that God, in dispensing judgment, normally elects certain nations as instruments of his justice. Thus the tribes of Israel were repeatedly "delivered," "sold" to the Philistines;[15] thus also, in later times, Babylon became "a golden cup in the Lord's hand," Nebuchadrezzar was appointed the "sword" of God, and Cyrus the Great was crowned the "anointed" of the Supreme Judge.[16] God's own words, as transmitted through Isaiah, are sufficiently explicit:

> O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger,
> And the staff in their hand is mine indignation.
> I will send him against an hypocritical nation,
> And against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge,
> To take the spoil, and to take the prey,
> And to tread them down like the mire of the streets.[17]

Yet once Israel was punished, God diverted his wrath to his former instruments, punishing the "high looks" of the Assyrians and reducing Babylon to "a desolation among the nations."[18] This view of the Divine Purpose might seem uncomfortably close to Hardy's President of the Immortals, whose hobby was to sport with his creatures. To the Jews, however, God was anything but unjust; even when they staggered under the burden of divine wrath, they were still persuaded of the justice of his ways. Besides, despite Hardy and similar eccentrics, the emphasis in the Old Testament falls not so much on the winters of the anger of God as on the eternal spring of his infinite mercies. When all is said, the principal interest of the Jewish writers revolves about God's "covenant" with Israel. That covenant is an explanation—"the shadow of the future thrown back on to the past"[19]—of God's constant efforts to safeguard Israel. And those efforts, the Old Testament maintains, are historically demonstrable: they are, indeed, precisely history.

We often think of the God of Israel as preoccupied exclu-

sively with the affairs of the chosen race, yet the Old Testament actually presents him not merely as the ruler of one segment of humanity but as "the God of the whole earth."[20] In the chapters following the account of creation in Genesis, we are given in outline the Jewish theory of how the various nations of the world arose out of the first man. The seemingly endless lists of names, so tedious to us, were of fundamental importance to the compilers themselves. Gradually, at least, as we pass from the generations of Adam to those of Noah and his three sons, and on through Abraham and Isaac and Jacob to Joseph, we realize that the roll calls of names are meant to stress the essential unity of mankind, the fact that under the one Lord of the universe there exists but one family of nations, divided at various points in history, yet retaining still their unity under God. The subsequent historians of Israel, even while proclaiming their belief in God's particular interest in their nation, continued to regard him as the Lord of all nations. This persuasion was phrased most explicitly and forcefully by the great prophets. The very first, Amos, asserted in clear terms that before God all nations are equal both in punishment and in mercy—particularly in mercy, for as God brought Israel out of Egypt, so he delivered the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir.[21] In the even more striking words of God to Isaiah,

> Blessed be Egypt my people,
> And Assyria the work of my hands,
> And Israel mine inheritance.[22]

The Jews did not hesitate to face up to the implications of their monotheistic creed. In the captivating metaphor that was to arise later, they believed God to be a circle whose center is everywhere and his circumference nowhere.

But the most important difference between the Jewish and extra-Biblical views of history remains the reiterated Old Testament conviction pertaining to the "Day of the Lord." Belief in the end of the world, involving a universal judgment and

the advent of "new heavens and a new earth,"[23] was a rather late development in Jewish thought: its most notable proponents were the prophets—particularly Amos, Isaiah, and Zephaniah—and the author of the apocalypse in the Book of Daniel.[24] Once this belief became widespread, the Jewish view of history stood complete. In diametric opposition to the Greco-Roman series of purposeless cycles, history was now seen to be linear, progressing in a straight line from the six days of creation to the single Day of Judgment. During this "progress" from one end-point of history to the other, God manifests his purpose in and through everyday events, until at last all the rivers of temporal history are to tumble into the vast ocean of eternity.

Of all Hebrew writers, only the author of Ecclesiastes took exception to this view. His prolonged meditation upon the nature of things had directed him not to the traditional "straight line" leading to the Day of the Lord, but to interminable cycles:

> One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever. The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he arose. The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north; it whirleth about continually, and the wind returneth again according to his circuits. All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full: unto the place whence the rivers come, thither they return again.[25]

The original work—obviously the labor of a "schismatic"—was considerably revised by later writers and heroically defended as "orthodox" by centuries of commentators. Even so, the extent to which the book departs from the predominant tenor of the Bible is inescapable. As Biblical scholars now agree, the Book of Ecclesiastes is the work of a skeptic[26]—an early representative of a movement we will encounter again as we come closer to the later Renaissance.

But the mainstream of ideas moved on, imperiously disregarding such backwaters as Ecclesiastes. On the way, it carried along another slowly-emerging but fundamental idea, the group of prophecies concerning the coming of the Messiah.[27] The salva-

tion thereby envisaged was not expected to take place outside history but within it, in accordance with God's normal method of "working salvation in the midst of the earth."[28] Hence Luke's elaborate care in recording that Jesus began his ministry "in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Iturea and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests."[29]

For Christianity, Jesus the Christ of God constitutes history's "constant uniqueness"[30] in that his advent marks the direct entrance of God into the historical process. At the same time, in terms of the Divine Purpose, the God-man automatically lends significance to the entire range of human events, past as well as future. Jesus, it must be insisted, did not establish a "new" religion: indeed, as the New Testament constantly maintains, his birth was not the commencement of but the climactic point in God's gradual revelation to the people of Israel. As the opening words of the Epistle to the Hebrews declare, "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken to us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things." The historical continuity since Adam that the writers of the Old Testament had affirmed is of even greater importance to the writers of the New. Appropriately enough, the very first chapter of Matthew's Gospel traces the ancestry of Jesus back to Abraham, beyond whom, of course, stood Adam—an extension which St. Paul was to make explicit in his claim that as in Adam all mankind sinned, so in Jesus all were saved.[31] Using the traditional terms employed by Renaissance expositors, we may state that there is a "streight and perfect line from *Adam* vnto *Christ,*" "a golden vaine, a golden chaine, consisting of many linkes, from the first *Adam* to the *second*."[32] In this respect, we recall how extensive the "historical" typology of the New Testament is, how enthusiastic its reception by the early

apologists, and how elaborate its further consideration by subsequent generations.[33] That impressive concern with "types" had, essentially, this single purpose: to confirm that all events prior to the Incarnation are meaningful only insofar as they are seen to be preparatory to the advent of the Messiah. John Gaule's statement in 1629 is adequate: "As doe Lines in their Point and Period; Circumferences in their Center; Riuers in the Sea: So doe both the Law, and the Prophets meet in Christ Iesus."[34]

Yet the New Testament does not relate the Christ Jesus merely to the past history of Israel, but further maintains his relevance to the future history of Israel and indeed of the entire universe. For the God-man is not simply a historical figure; at the same time, he is a supra-historical figure, transcending both endpoints of history. On the one hand, he existed "before the foundation of the world" and "by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible";[35] on the other hand, the Last Judgment is also his personal task, although "when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all."[36] Clearly, the significance of the Christ is not only local, or even national, but cosmic—for he "was, and is, and is to come," "the same yesterday, and today, and for ever."[37] The affirmation of the Old Testament that the God of Israel is also the God of the entire universe, is thus expanded still further in the New Testament. All barriers are now shattered: "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free," "no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God"[38]—a cosmic brotherhood marching inevitably along the straight line leading to the end of the world.

History, which the Old Testament views as theocentric, the New Testament more specifically regards as Christocentric. The chronology in present use by Jews and Christians is an eloquent testimony of their variant attitudes toward history;

for while Judaism and Christianity alike compute events from a fixed point, the one harks back to the creation of the world by God,[39] but the other slices history in two with the designations "B.C." and "A.D." For Christianity, in other words, the Christ Jesus stands at the very center of universal history: before his advent, all events lead up to his birth in Bethlehem; and since his advent, all events are similarly related to him through a backward reference to the same historical fact of his nativity. In the precise statement of T. S. Eliot,

> Then came, at a predetermined moment, a moment in time and of time,
> A moment not out of time, but in time, in what we call history: transecting, bisecting the world of time, a moment in time but not like a moment of time,
> A moment in time but time was made through that moment: for without the meaning there is no time, and that moment of time gave the meaning.[40]

If the meaningless cycles of flux and reflux common to the Greco-Roman attitude toward history are like the legendary phoenix, periodically dying only in order to revive again, to Christians, on the other hand, history is like Jacob's Ladder, leading the Christ-guided pilgrim forever upward in a straight line toward the Eternal City, the Christ being not only present at every point of the ladder but also—as Renaissance commentators frequently observed[41]—the ladder itself.

II

After the death of St. Paul in or about A.D. 65, the numerous young churches he had established underwent a series of such severe trials that the ultimate victory of the Christian faith is justly regarded as the greatest miracle in its history. One such trial appeared in the form of prolonged, brutal persecutions; another, and far more perilous since it often arose within Christianity, was occasioned by Gnosticism. Of the numerous ideas advanced by the Gnostics, the most pernicious was their ten-

dency to shift Christianity's center of gravity from history to philosophy, from the historical Jesus to a complex system of abstractions.[42] But the apologists of the early Church refused to surrender the "scandal" at the core of their faith. As a result, Christianity was prevented from receding into a mere philosophical curiosity, decidedly interesting but hardly pertinent to the course of human events.

The first apologists and the early Fathers were, besides, impressively unanimous in their condemnation of the "cyclical" view of history. Long before St. Augustine's "final" attack, St. Justin Martyr had looked askance upon the pagan affirmation "that things will always remain as they are, and further, that you and I shall live again as we are living now, without having become either better or worse."[43] Even Origen lashed out against the Greco-Roman "cycles,"[44] though in his case it was one thing to denounce them and another to extricate himself from their mazes.

Another aspect of early Christian thought proved even more decisive, for it includes the basic element of an idea that was to be fundamental to all subsequent expositions of the Christian faith. This was the claim that Christianity existed before the beginning of the world—a claim already advanced by the writers of the New Testament, but now expounded further by such diverse commentators as Justin Martyr and Tertullian, Athenagoras and Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Augustine. By the later part of the second century, the shape of things to come was evident in St. Theophilus of Antioch's treatise to Autolycus, where we find a more or less systematic recital of events since "the beginning of the foundation of the world."[45] Shortly thereafter two other works systematized even further the ever-increasing tendency to hark back to the creation of the universe: the Χρονικά (*Chronica*) of St. Hippolytus (*ca.* 170–*ca.* 236), presently extant in two Latin versions;[46] and particularly the highly influential Χρονογραφίαι (*Chronographiae*) of "the father of Christian chronography," Julius Afri-

canus (*ca.* 160–*ca.* 240), now surviving in fragments preserved in a number of Eastern chronicles.[47]

But the difference between Christian and pagan historians, it might be objected, is one of degree, not of kind; for even if the Greeks and the Romans rarely commenced with the creation since normally they held the world to be eternal, nevertheless they reached into the distant past as often as did Christian historians. Thus it had been ever since the first "universal" history outside the Judaeo-Christian tradition was written by the Greek historian Ephorus in the fourth century B.C.;[48] thereafter, universalizing tendencies are clearly evident in many others, among them Fabius Pictor, Cato, Polybius, Atticus, Cornelius Nepos, Diodorus Siculus, Trogus, Livy, Appian, and Dio Cassius. To these should be added Joseph ben Matthias, author of the Ἰουδαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία (*Antiquitates Judaicae*)[49]—a work which, as we will see later, was widely accepted by Christians, yet properly forms part of Greco-Roman historiography. We can be sure that Flavius Josephus would have wished it no other way.

Despite such "precedents," however, Christian historians still carved a path distinctly their own. But the distinction cannot be inferred from the works of Theophilus, Hippolytus, or—necessarily at least—Julius Africanus, for these were but heralds to the great synthesis achieved by Eusebius of Caesarea (*ca.* 260–*ca.* 340). Eusebius' celebrated *opus maius* on chronology, its complete text surviving only in a seventh-century Armenian version,[50] is divided into two parts. The first part, the Χρονογραφία (*Chronographia*), is a narrative account of events since the Chaldeans; the second part, the Χρονικοὶ Κανόνες (*Chronici Canones*)—also extant in the Latin version by St. Jerome[51]—is a tabular compilation of synchronized dates drawn from Assyrian, Hebrew, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman history. Assuredly Eusebius' monumental labors were not entirely "original," for he had relied extensively on the pioneering chronology compiled by Julius Africanus.[52] Yet he did revise and improve the earlier

work decisively, notably in his synchronized tables; besides which, whatever else he wrote he placed within this comprehensive chronological framework, including his epoch-making account of the growth of the Church, the celebrated Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία (*Historia Ecclesiastica*).[53] With the composition of the latter we have, at last, the clearest divorce between Christian historians and the "universalizing" Greeks and Romans. In an attempt to demonstrate that Christianity is not a "recent" religion, Eusebius lifted the curtain to his *Historia* on a stirring vision of the events preceding even the creation of the world, beholding the Christ Jesus "God by the side of the Father, the first and only offspring of God, before all creation and fabrication, both visible and invisible, the captain of the spiritual and immortal host of heaven."[54] Thereafter, descending to the realm of history, we are led to witness God's gradual revelation to the people of Israel, until the grand climax is reached in the Incarnation of the pre-existent Word. Here the first book ends. The rest of the work is similar in tenor, at every turn moving further away from the pagan historians with the recurrent affirmation that God marches through history in judgment or in mercy, and always in glory.

When all is said, Eusebius may not be regarded as the greatest exponent of the Christian view of history, for one fundamental element, eschatology, is absent from his work. Other apologists had already insisted, and were to insist again, on the teleological aspect of history, notably the resurrection of the dead, for they appreciated that the unity of mankind can be maintained only through an affirmation not merely of a common origin but also of a common *telos* or end. But Eusebius, persuaded as he was that the triumph of Christianity under St. Constantine—ὁ τῷ Θεῷ φίλος[55]—was the terminal point in God's promises to mankind, neglected the ultimate end—and thereby limited his vision of history drastically. Even so, he occupies an honored place in Christian historiography, partly for his labors in chronology, partly for his ecclesiastical history, and more because

he disseminated further the tendency to view history from "the depth of the irreversible Divine Resolve."[56] The just popularity of his *Historia* may be measured in terms of numerous imitations and additions,[57] even though only the continuations by three Eastern historians of the earlier fifth century—Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret—are worthy of their predecessor. In the West, the enthusiasm for Eusebius was greater still. Even before the fourth century had expired, the *Historia* was freely translated into Latin by Rufinus of Aquileia, with a supplement bringing the Eusebian account up to A.D. 395.[58] By that year, of course, Latin Christendom was already graced by her two greatest Fathers, St. Augustine and St. Jerome.

III

St. Augustine (354–430) may rightly be called the father of the Christian "philosophy" of history.[59] His major work on the subject, *De civitate Dei contra paganos,* begun in 413 and completed in 426, was written in the apologetic and polemic vein typical of most of his writings.[60] It was occasioned by Alaric's capture of Rome on August 24, 410, an event that generated pessimism among Christians as well as pagans: among Christians because the sacked city was the hallowed site of the tombs of Peter, Paul, and thousands of martyrs, and its stability was closely identified with the stability of the Christian Church; and among pagans because the fall of the Mistress of the World was interpreted as a clear sign of the violent disapproval of their gods over the triumphant rise of Christianity. To friends and foes alike, therefore, Augustine resolved to address his great *apologia.* Of his numerous arguments, two occupy most of his attention: first, that the world had known far greater disasters in the past than the present invasion of Rome; and secondly, that the importance attached to Rome is totally erroneous, for in the progress of history from creation to the Last Judgment, a mere city is utterly insignificant. Rome, indeed, is but a second Babylon, of the earth, earthly and mortal; while all that matters is the Eternal

City in the Kingdom of God, of the heavens, heavenly and immortal. In the course of his arguments, Augustine set forth his sharp division between the two "cities," the *civitas Dei* and the *civitas terrena*:

> Two loves have given origin to these two cities, self-love in contempt of God unto the earthly, love of God in contempt of one's self to the heavenly. The first seeks the glory of men, and the latter desires God only as the testimony of the conscience, the greatest glory. That glories in itself, and this in God. That exalts itself in self-glory: this says to God: 'My glory and the lifter up of my head'. That boasts of the ambitious conquerors led by the lust of sovereignty: in this all serve each other in charity, both the rulers in counselling and the subjects in obeying. That loves worldly virtue in the potentates: this says unto God: 'I will love thee, O Lord, my strength'.[61]

The greater part of *De civitate Dei* is devoted to an exposition of, and commentary on, the progress of the world under the shadow of these two "cities" or "states," now inclined toward the one and now toward the other. Augustine, like Eusebius, began his account with the supra-historical era before the creation of the universe; but unlike his great predecessor, he went ahead to affirm the end of the world and the consumation of all things in God. Inestimably influential, Augustine's affirmation of the Last Judgment, by capping the history of temporal events, indicated more clearly than ever before the linear nature of history with its beginning in Adam, its "central datum" in Jesus, and its "uni-dimensional movement in time" leading to the final end.[62] In his sweeping view of history acted *sub specie aeternitatis,* Augustine concurred with some of his predecessors in seeing the progress of the world in terms of Six Ages, corresponding to the six days of creation. The first Age extends from Adam to Noah, the second thence to Abraham, the third to David, the fourth to the Babylonian captivity, and the fifth to the Incarnation; the last Age is unfolding currently, to be terminated upon the Second Coming and the beginning of the Seventh Age in which we are to rest eternally as God rested on the seventh day of creation.[63] Such a scheme clearly allows no

room for the Greco-Roman "cycles"; yet despite this Augustine, bent as he was on thoroughness, lost no opportunity to castigate the notion of the "continual rotation of ages past and present."[64] At one point, triumphantly seizing on the psalmist's words that "the wicked walk in a circle," he affirmed their application to the adherents of the cyclical view of history—"not because their life (as they think) is to run circularly, but because their false doctrine runs round in a circular maze."[65] It was a statement, we will find, which many centuries later was to echo in the major work of an English poet.

Augustine's discussion of the rise and development of the two "cities" properly commences with Book XI of *De civitate Dei*. Earlier, in the first ten books, he was concerned to defend the one God against the muliplicity of gods and to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity over paganism. Concurrently, he elaborated further the providential view of history—long since consolidated by the prophet Isaiah—whereby God "giveth kingdoms to good and to bad; not rashly, nor casually, but as the time is appointed, which is well known to Him, though hidden from us."[66] But even this did not conclude Augustine's contributions, for he was also instrumental in the formulation of what was to become the traditional, or at least the most widespread, Christian view of time and eternity.[67]

As St. Augustine is the greatest theologian among the Latin Fathers, so his contemporary St. Jerome (*ca.* 342–420) is beyond doubt the greatest scholar.[68] Considering merely their contributions to the Christian view of history, we can readily see why aftertimes numbered them both among the four supreme *doctores ecclesiae*. Between them they shaped the course invariably followed by all subsequent historians, Augustine through his "philosophy," Jerome through his chronology. The latter's *Chronicon*[69] is, indeed, but a translation of the chronicle of Eusebius, made while Jerome was in Constantinople for studies under St. Gregory of Nazianzus and other masters; yet it is still a work we must identify more with Jerome and less with Euse-

bius, if only because it was the prestige of the translator of the Vulgate that guaranteed the widespread acceptance of Eusebius in the West. Besides, Jerome did not merely translate the original into Latin, but involved himself more directly by continuing it to his own day. This addition to Eusebius' basic structure soon invited further extensions—as by Bishop Hydatius of Chaves, in turn followed by Marcellinus Comes, Victor of Tunnuna, and Joannes of Gerona.[70]

Early in the fifth century, in a letter to Jerome, Augustine commended "a religious young man, a brother in the Catholic fold, in age a son, in dignity a fellow priest, alert of mind, ready of speech, burning with eagerness, longing to be a useful vessel in the house of the Lord."[71] The recipient of this high praise, Paulus Orosius (*ca.* 380–*ca.* 420), did not fail to measure up to Augustine's faith in his abilities. He was not only entrusted with the presentation of the Augustinian views on Pelagianism before Jerome; he was also assigned the important task of elaborating the argument of *De civitate Dei* that the sacking of Rome, far from being the greatest calamity in world history, was only one of numerous similar catastrophes instigated by the Supreme Judge. The result of Orosius' labors, the *Historia adversus paganos,*[72] so far surpassed Augustine's expectations, and had such an immense influence on later writers, that we could justly speak of the Christian "philosophy" of history as being Orosian rather than Augustinian.[73] For his dates, Orosius made free use of Eusebius' *Chronicon,* by now the standard authority on chronology; for his argument, he summarized the thought of his predecessors, though always relying upon Augustine. Yet Orosius was not a slavish imitator. There is something very moving in his majestic survey of universal history from the creation to A.D. 417, tracing the rise and fall of the four great civilizations of the past—Babylon, Macedon, Carthage and Rome—and seeing in their fortunes the hand of a divinity shaping their ends, now supporting the righteous, and now smashing the proud and the wicked. So earnestly did Orosius try to impose an orderly

pattern on history that one is tempted to forgive him his liberal manipulation of dates, such as the claim that as Babylon was conquered by the Medes 1,164 years from her foundation, so Rome was invaded by the Goths "after an equal number of years."[74] In the last analysis, however, years and even centuries are of no consequence; what matters is that "one God has directed the course of history,"[75] his intervention clearly marked at every turn whether in judgment or in mercy. Before the fifth century was out, Orosius' lucid exposition of the Christian view of history was officially approved by the Bishop of Rome, thereafter enjoying a popularity often unrivalled even by Augustine's own formulation. Dante's verdict that Orosius was "avvocato dei tempi cristiani"[76] is the common view of the entire period up to the seventeenth century.

Yet the style of Orosius leaves much to be desired—a defect not to be found in the work of Sulpicius Severus (*ca.* 363–*ca.* 420–425). The latter's *Historia sacra,*[77] completed some fifteen years before Orosius' history was even begun, is another product of the same tradition, being a demonstration of the providential rule of history from the creation to A.D. 400. In addition, however, it is the first, perhaps even the only, universal history in Latin that is distinguished by its literary merit. If during the millenium following its composition it was less than popular, the Renaissance more than redressed this injustice, Scaliger leading the chorus of praise with his tribute to Sulpicius as "ecclesiasticorum purissimus scriptor."[78] In fact, Sulpicius outlived not only Orosius but even the Christian view of history; Gibbon, who dismissed Orosius as the author of "pious nonsense," regarded Sulpicius as "a correct and original writer."[79]

The legacy bequeathed to the future by Eusebius and Jerome on the one hand, and by Augustine and Orosius on the other, is adequately demonstrated by two works written before the end of the fifth century. One was the *Chronicum integrum*[80] of St. Prosper of Aquitaine (*ca.* 390–*ca.* 463), a world chronicle in annalistic form outlining the principal events from Adam to

A.D. 455; the other was *De gubernatione Dei*[81] of Salvian of Marseilles (*ca.* 400–*ca.* 480), a narrative survey of history since the creation, single-mindedly attempting to establish that God is present throughout history as "a most anxious watcher, a most tender ruler, and a most just judge."[82] Already, in other words, with the stage set and the principal plays written, we have but different actors giving essentially similar performances. So, by and large, it was to be for more than a thousand years.

And yet some important innovations were introduced, such as the one that was proposed in the first half of the sixth century. Until that time Christian writers had been employing various systems of chronology: one common practice was to date events in relation to the reigns of Roman emperors, another to use the year of the world's creation as the standard point of reference—neither of which was satisfactory, since the first method involved the commemoration of Christianity's enemies, while the second created more difficulties in that the differences of opinion were enormous. The honor for initiating the traditional scheme fell to Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian monk living in Rome, who made his proposal in 525. But neither Dionysius nor his contemporaries were fully aware that he had made a singularly felicitous contribution; in fact, although his invention was used on a limited scale shortly after its inception and became widely diffused particularly in Spain in the last half of the seventh century, it was not adopted by any noteworthy authority until Bede made use of it in the *Historia Ecclesiastica.* Thereafter, exported from England back to the Continent, the Dionysian scheme finally came into use at the Vatican from the year 963 onwards.[83]

The sixth century is also significant because of the contributions of Cassiodorus (*ca.* 485–*ca.* 580) and St. Gregory of Tours (*ca.* 540–594). The least of Cassiodorus' achievements was his composition of a table of events from Adam to A.D. 519.[84] Far more important was his role in the preparation of the *Historia Tripartita,* which he and his associates compiled from the ecclesiastical histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, all

recently translated from the Greek by Epiphanius.[85] As the necessary supplement to Rufinus' version of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica,* the composite work of Cassiodorus enjoyed immediate popularity and remained one of the standard texts until the Renaissance. Equally important for our purposes is the far greater historian of the sixth century, Gregory of Tours, whose account of the birth of Merovingian culture in the *Historia Francorum*[86] begins, we should remember, with the genesis of the world. Gregory's summary of universal history in Book I is presently dismissed as dull and useless; yet while the dullness will be admitted readily, the uselessness will not, for the book places the entire history under the shadow of eternity, thereby forging still another major link in the chain of tradition reaching all the way to the Renaissance.

As we pass from the sixth century to the seventh, we find the chain strengthened still further by St. Isidore of Seville (*ca.* 560–636). By now, of course, we expect to encounter still another universal chronicle; nor are we disappointed, for in his *Chronica Maiora*[87] Isidore left us a table of events from the creation to A.D. 615. As if this was not sufficient testimony to his adherence to tradition, in the *Etymologiae* or *Origines*—the first authoritative encyclopedia of nearly catholic scope—Isidore included a condensed version of yet another chronicle in annalistic form.[88] In addition, this version makes use of the division of universal history into Six Ages, already propounded by Augustine and others, but now incorporated, for the first time, into a formal chronology. But as ideas never remain absolutely static, this concept also underwent a transformation upon the advent of the Venerable Bede (*ca.* 673–735).

The major work of St. Bede, the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum,*[89] demonstrates fully the traditional approach to history in that it unfolds, as did its prototype, the work of Eusebius, under the eye of Providence. In yet two other works, *De temporibus* and *De tempore ratione,*[90] Bede also made use of the traditional idea of the Six Ages—but unlike Isidore, who

had terminated his account with the Sixth Age, Bede concluded on an eschatological note of "sublime devotion"[91] by advancing not only to a description of the Last Judgment, but even to the Seventh and Eighth Ages that are to follow the last events of temporal history.[92] In view of the earlier exposition of these "eschata" in *De civitate Dei,* Bede's "originality" may well escape us. Still it is there, for Bede's formulation constitutes the first authoritative introduction of the Christian "philosophy" of history into chronology. But one further development neither Augustine nor Bede could have forseen: that eschatology, espoused by both in their attempts to demonstrate the linear nature of history, was to become the capital interest of Christian historiography during the period up to the fifteenth century.

IV

The standard expositions of the Christian view of history enjoyed widespread popularity throughout the Middle Ages.[93] According to Einhard, Charlemagne was particularly inclined in favor of *De civitate Dei,*[94] and we may regard this imperial preference to coincide with that of the Middle Ages in general. Paulus Orosius' *apologia* was easily the second most popular work, trailed by Jerome's version of the chronicle of Eusebius, the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Eusebius, the *Historia Tripartita* of Cassiodorus, the encyclopaedia of Isidore, and the chronological and historical works of Bede. To these must be added Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae,* widely respected as the universal history that it is, but also as furnishing "proof," from a non-Christian source, concerning the divinity of Jesus.[95]

The historians of the Middle Ages, like their predecessors in Israel, were both particular and universal: universal in that they attempted to be all-encompassing, thereby upholding the total jurisdiction of Providence throughout the created order; and particular in that they also believed God's concern to be ultimately focused on their own nations severally. Of the strictly "ecumenical" works written during the Middle Ages, the most

popular universal history was the *Chronica* of Sigebert of Gembloux (*ca.* 1030–1112), seemingly concerned only with the period from A.D. 381 to 1111, but actually being yet another continuation of the chronicle of Eusebius, Jerome, and Prosper of Aquitaine.[96] Similarly, of all the works written during the Middle Ages, those that were pre-occupied with "origins" far outweigh those that were not. Some modest historians, such as Hugo of Fleury in the eleventh century,[97] were content to hark back only as far as Abraham; still others, preferring to begin with more recent times, settled on the Nativity, as was the case with Regino of Prüm in the tenth century, Hugo of Flavigny in the twelfth, and Sicard of Cremona in the thirteenth.[98] But the majority preferred to commence their labors with an account of the creation —and though it is not possible to enumerate all of the universal chroniclers, yet a representative list, exclusive of anonymous works,[99] is called for, if only in order to demonstrate the catholicity of the writers' nationalities, callings, and stations in life. In the century immediately following Bede's death, the ninth, we find universally-minded chroniclers already at work, two of the most noteworthy being Freculph of Lisieux and St. Ado of Vienne.[100] By 1100, it has been estimated, Western Europe possessed nearly sixty universal chronicles.[101] As the dam finally burst, originality struggled for a time to survive, but failed; by the eleventh century its death had become particularly noticeable, even in the world chronicles of Hermann of Reichenau, Marianus Scotus, and Lambert of Hersfeld, all of which propound the scheme of the Six Ages.[102] Of the twelfth-century world chronicles, citing but the most noteworthy, we might mention Honorius of Autun's *Summa totius de omnipoda historia*, a world history which he also rehearsed, in abridged form and divided into the traditional Six Ages, in Book III of his encyclopaedic *Imago mundi;* Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica,* a refreshing variation in that it is a universal chronicle in the form of commentaries on individual books of the Bible; Gottfried of Viterbo's *Pantheon,* predominantly in verse; the

Kaiserchronik, the oldest metrical world history in the vernacular; and Ekkehard of Aura's *Chronicon universale.*[103] As we pass into the next century, we encounter two works in still further elaboration of the concept of the Six Ages, Robert of Auxerre's *Chronologia* and Lucas of Tuy's *Chronicon mundi,*[104] the latter being merely an amplified version of the formulation by Isidore. Throughout the thirteenth century universal histories continued to be written, mostly in Latin, though occasionally in the vernacular as well—in French, for example, Brunetto Latini's brief section in his encyclopaedic *Trésor*;[105] in Spanish, the celebrated *Primera crónica general* of King Alfonso X surnamed El Sabio;[106] and in German, the *Sächsische Weltchronik*, usually attributed to Eike of Repgow,[107] and the metrical world chronicles of Jansen Enikel and Rudolf of Ems.[108]

But from the vast area that is mediæval historiography, three figures commend themselves to our attention for particular reasons: Otto of Freising, Joachim of Fiore, and Vincent of Beauvais. Of the three, the Bishop of Freising (1114?–1158) was unquestionably the most highly placed, partly because of his ecclesiastical position, more so because he was the son of the Margrave of Austria and uncle to Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Yet his major work, the *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus,*[111] is anything but worldly; on the contrary, it is the most eloquent statement of the eschatological aspect of the Christian view of history, often proclaimed before but now coming to the forefront under the impact of the current widespread pessimism over this world and the attendant conviction that the Last Judgment was near at hand.[112] If in his prologue Otto acknowledged his indebtedness to "those illustrious lights of the Church, Augustine and Orosius," the similarities between them are more apparent than real. Unlike Augustine and Orosius, Otto was neither apologetic nor polemic, while in addition he shifted the center of gravity from the Incarnation to the Second Advent. In outline, Otto's work is traditional enough. The first two books review the history of the world from the

creation of the first Adam to the birth of the second, with a running commentary interpreting the rise and fall of civilizations as evidence of God's constant presence in history: the next five books carry the narrative, still providentially-oriented, from the Nativity to Otto's own time; and the last book sets forth the "eschata" of history, including the Last Judgment, the final conflagration, and the cessation of time in the Eternal Present. Throughout, however, the stress is on the *miseria rerum mutabilium,* constantly accompanied by reminders that Otto and his contemporaries stood witness to "the closing days" of history, that their times were "threatening the approaching end of the world in consequence of the enormity of its sinfulness, and indicating that the kingdom of Christ is soon to come."[111] Such is Otto's pessimism that at times he comes perilously close to an affirmation of the "cyclical" view of history through his excessive stress on life's vicissitudes; yet ultimately he did not lose sight of the linear nature of history, even though his emphasis was not on the alpha but on the omega.

Yet Otto of Freising, however profound and forceful, was not nearly as influential as the almost legendary Joachim of Fiore (*ca.* 1132–1202), the father of a movement that spread swiftly from Italy to Northern Europe and has persisted, in one form or another, even to our own day. Joachim's principal works are three: the *Liber concordiae novi ac veteris testamenti,* the *Expositio in apocalypsim*, and the *Psalterium decem cordatum.*[112] If these are orderly and disciplined, the same cannot be said of the works later attributed to Joachim, notably the *Evangelium aeternum*, an "anthology" compiled with generous additions by his followers and so successfully suppressed that not a single copy of it is extant. The spurious works, and reportedly the "eternal gospel" in particular, constitute the most striking mediæval amalgam of ingenious flights of fancy, prophecies run wild, and incredible attempts to establish multiple correspondences throughout the levels of the universe. From this chaos arises at least one idea, on occasion espoused by Joachim

himself and fundamental to the Joachite "philosophy" of history: the concept of the three eras of Nature, Law, and Grace. Earlier, when Augustine and others had expounded just such a scheme, the era of Nature referred to the pre-Mosaic period, that of Law to the Mosaic, and the era of Grace to the period since the Incarnation.[113] But now all these were drastically reapportioned. The first era, under the jurisdiction of the Father, was readjusted so as to comprehend the entire period from Adam to Christ; the second, regarded as the province of the Son, was said to have commenced with the Incarnation and to be nearing its end; while the third, assigned to the province of the Holy Spirit, was proclaimed as the last era, its duration unknown, its nature temporal, its rulers celibate, and marked by the revelation of a new and final dispensation, the so-called "evangelium aeternum." Joachim, it must be said at once, interpreted the third era less as a distinct "age" and more as the last period of mankind's development prior to the Second Advent. Inevitably, however, lesser intellects misconstrued his "philosophy" so that they both lapsed into tritheism and, because of the fuller revelation involved in the new dispensation, threatened to remove Jesus from the center of history. The ecclesiastical authorities, though not in the least impressed by Joachim's own pronounced tendencies toward tritheism, were unprepared to censure a person with his vast reputation for sanctity; on the other hand, however, they certainly did not hesitate to condemn the compilers of the *Evangelium aeternum*. Yet despite the anathema decreed by the Council of Arles in 1263, Joachim's misunderstood views persisted; in the centuries following, the Joachite apocalypse of the third dispensation often verged on, and frequently merged with, such other visions of a brighter temporal future as that advanced by the millenarians—witness, for example, the "Third" Reich, which was expected to last a thousand years. For our purposes, suffice it that up to and including the Renaissance, the appeal of Joachim's apocalyptic notions remained so powerful that a century after his death, and the

uncertain ecclesiastical attitude notwithstanding, he was elevated by Dante to Heaven. In the poet's words,

> lucemi da lato
> il Calabrese abate Gioacchino,
> di spirito profetico dotato.[114]

The third of the towering figures in mediæval historiography is Vincent of Beauvais (*ca.* 1190–1264). He was the author of the most ambitious project undertaken in Christendom either before or since, his goal being, astonishingly enough, the presentation of all knowledge available to his time. The wonder is that although Vincent fails to impress us with his critical acumen, he still succeeded in preserving, within the confines of a single work, the capital preoccupations of the period up to the Renaissance. His *Speculum maius* is not merely long; it is colossal. Of its three parts,[115] the part which interests us here, the *Speculum historiale,* is itself comprised of nearly 4,000 chapters and has been estimated to contain one and a quarter million words. Inevitably, the *Speculum historiale* is a synthesis of the traditional views. Beginning with an account of the creation, it progresses to the middle of the thirteenth century; but the *telos* is also kept firmly in view through an epilogue that describes in detail the last events of temporal history.[116] And with this, appropriately enough, Vincent's work concludes.

But I must pause to open a parenthesis, for I fear I may have given the impression that during the Middle Ages intellectual activities had come to a standstill, or were at least slowed down. The material I have endeavored to survey conveys indeed, by its very nature, an impression of aridity. But the mediæval historians, we must remember, wrote under outrageously adverse conditions. That they wrote at all, in fact, should be recognized as the impressive achievement that it is; for they were not privileged to possess a satisfactory chronology—the spine of history—nor did they have the opportunities for research we have grown accustomed to accept. In addition, such was the force

of tradition—"the gathered force of immemorial tradition"[117]—that minds bent before it naturally: an inclination reflected in mediæval education which, far from attaching any importance to history, excluded it from the "liberal arts" altogether. Hence the impressive achievement that is the composition (beyond merely derivative annals or even chronicles) of histories: works, that is to say, distinguished by a discriminating selection of facts, sound evaluation of the events recounted, and a style commensurate to the argument.[118] The plethora of world chronicles must be granted, having been admitted even by the champion of the "renaissance" of the twelfth century.[119] Even so, the Middle Ages produced historians competent in the extreme, such as Adam of Bremen in the eleventh century, Villehardouin and Matthew of Paris in the thirteenth, Froissart and Marsiglio of Padua in the fourteenth century—while at the high point of the Middle Ages, the twelfth century, there were Eadmer and Ordericus Vitalis, Petrus Comestor and William of Tyre, Otto of Freising and William of Malmesbury. That same century was, in addition, the age of John of Salisbury and Abélard, no less than the age of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the "Master of the Sentences," of Averroës and Maimonides, of translations from the Arabic and of advances in science and jurisprudence, of the *Poema de mio Cid* and the *Chanson de Roland,* of the high Romanesque and the early Gothic, of the school of Chartres and its Platonist Chancellors, and of the emerging institutions of higher learning at Bologna and Paris and Oxford. Finally—and inevitably—it was also the age of heresy.

Before continuing our account of the historiographical developments in Western Christendom, we should glance, however briefly, at the situation in the East. Long before the actual schism, Eastern Christianity was becoming alienated from the West: it may well be said, in fact, that the divorce occurred sometime after the advent of Augustinianism, which the Eastern apologists of the faith viewed askance as excessively dogmatic and rather unduly morbid.[120] As a consequence, even the

"philosophy" of history expounded in *De civitate Dei* was, by choice, unknown in the East. Even so, there is no appreciable difference between the Eastern and the Western attitudes to history, for if the Christians of the East were unaware of St. Augustine, they were bound to reach similar conclusions so long as they did not deviate from the road marked out by Julius Africanus and Eusebius. And they did not. In a rare display of unity, the pattern we have been tracing in the West was repeated in the East. During the twelve centuries from the death of Julius Africanus to the rape of Constantinople in 1453, the providential theory of history was a commonplace among Eastern historians, while universal histories were composed with as much ceaseless enthusiasm as we have noted in the West.[121] The Eastern tradition may be said to have come properly into its own with the massive work of Philippos Sidetes, a contemporary of Paulus Orosius, whose encyclopaedic Χριστιανικὴ Ἱστορία (*Historia Christiana*)[122] attempted to relate all events from the creation to A.D. 430. Thereafter, nearly all Eastern histories similarly commenced with the creation—although with the understandable difference that Byzantine chroniclers regarded their empire as the culminating point of universal history, in line with their intensely nationalistic, and clearly imperialistic, conviction that Constantinople had become "the heart of the universe" (ἡ τῆς οἰκουμένης καρδία).[123] Of the numerous world chronicles written in the East, the following might be considered as the most noteworthy, if not the most popular as well: in the sixth century, the Ἱστορία of Hesychios Milesios and the Χρονογραφία of Ioannes Malalas; in the seventh century, the anonymous Πασχάλιον; in the ninth, the Χρονογροφία of Georgios Synkellos—thereafter continued by Theophanes Homologetes—and the Χρονικὸν Σύντομον of Georgios Monachos or Hamartolos; in the tenth century, the Χρονογραφία uncertainly attributed to the famous hagiographer Symeon Metaphrastes; in the eleventh, the Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν of Georgios Cedrenos; and in the twelfth, the Ἐπιτομὴ

Ἱστοριῶν of Ioannes Zonaras, the Βίβλος Χρονικὴ of Michael Glykas, and the metrical Σύνοψις Χρονικὴ of Constantinos Manasses.[124] The pattern, repeated throughout Eastern Europe,[125] was particularly noticeable in Russia, where under the all-pervasive influence of the Eastern Orthodox Church the tradition was extended in numerous imitations of the Byzantine chronicles, notably the popular universal histories of Malalas and Monachos.[126] Russian chroniclers, however, expressed one reservation. In what had already become a meaningful extension of Hebrew historiography no less than a common manifestation of national pride, they viewed the course of world history as focusing ultimately, by the grace of God, on Russia.[127]

Withal, what has been said of historical writing in Byzantium constitutes only one aspect of Eastern historiography; for it is a fact generally acknowledged that as well as mere universal chroniclers, Byzantium was gifted with a number of great historians who wrote on a far higher intellectual level than their counterparts in the West.[128] Foremost among them was Michael Psellus (*ca.* 1019–*ca.* 1078), who was responsible not only for the salvation of the Greek language from the evil times upon which it had fallen, nor just for a revival of classical learning, but was at the same time a historian of the first rank, leaving in his Χρονογραφία (*Chronographia*) a historical work of capital importance.[129] In his account, covering the period from the death of Ioannes I Tzimisces in 976 to the reign of Michael VII Ducas (1071–78), Psellus—unlike the chroniclers—neither relied upon compilations, nor resorted to any indiscriminate list of details. Concerned as he was with the personalities of his time, he composed an imaginative and readable history distinguished by an uncommonly excellent style, tremendous learning, psychological insight, and at least a noble attempt at impartiality in fulfilment of the highest ideal of all Byzantine historians, the presentation of "truth."[130] Nevertheless, he did not fail to adopt some of the most time-honored aspects of Christian historiography. For one, he adhered to the traditional

view of history as directed by Providence; and while he did not commence his account with the creation, implicitly at least he did not reject such an approach. As he himself states, his work is a continuation of Leo Diaconus' well-wrought Ἱστορία (*Historia*),[131] which in turn dates all events from the foundation of the universe.

In the meantime, developments in Britain were keeping pace with the activities on the Continent. The foundation was laid—obviously enough—by Bede; yet we should also take note of the Anglo-Saxon writers' adoration of *De civitate Dei*[132] and, further, regard four early native works as adequate prefigurations of the capital preoccupations of British historians throughout the Middle Ages. One is *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae* of St. Gildas (516?–570), which sees history progressing *sub specie aeternitatis;* the other is the chaotic *Historia Britonum* associated with the name of Nennius (*fl.* 796), which begins with the creation and adopts, among other schemes, the division of universal history into the traditional Six Ages; the third is the translation of Orosius' *Historia* by King Alfred (848?–899), which confirms the widespread acceptance of the providential view of history; while the fourth is the group of texts constituting the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* according to which events occur precisely "as God had foreseen" them, the overthrow of enemies is the gift of "the Lord of Victories," and disasters are the just punishment inflicted by the offended and incensed God ("such things happen because of the people's sins").[133] Some of the works written in England during the Middle Ages were inevitably lost, but the majority survive, though mostly in manuscript form.[134] Among the most typical world chronicles that had endeavored to be all-inclusive, we may single out, from the twelfth century, Florence of Worcester's encyclopaedic *Chronicon ex chronicis* and the anonymous *Chronicum Scotorum;*[135] from the thirteenth, John of Oxnead's *Chronica;*[136] from the fourteenth, Thomas of Malmesbury's *Eulogium,* Richard of Cirencester's *Speculum historiale,*

and Ranulph Higden's incredibly popular *Polychronicon;*[137] and from the earlier fifteenth century, Andrew of Wyntoun's metrical world chronicle of Scotland as well as its counterpart in England by John Capgrave—the latter glancing back to Adam not without some tenderness ("Adam was mad on a Friday, withoute modir, withoute fader").[138] All these writers commenced their accounts with the creation, but where others failed to do so, then they began at least with Noah[139] or, as we shall see later, from the time of Brut.

As with the mediæval period in Europe generally, so the Middle Ages in England do not lend themselves to generalizations readily. On the contrary; for in the twelfth century, after all, we encounter that phenomenon, William of Malmesbury, whose *Gesta Regum Anglorum*[140] begins not with the creation but with the year of our Lord 449; besides which it is a work of rare impartiality, wide learning, exceptional style, impressive attention to characterization and description—and written, as its author self-consciously observes in his preface, in order to extract from posterity "if not a reputation for eloquence, at least credit for diligence." Then, to complicate matters further, the early thirteenth century witnessed the establishment of a "school of history" at St. Albans, beginning with Roger of Wendover shortly after 1215, continuing with his successor Matthew Paris, and terminating with Thomas Walsingham well into the fifteenth century. Until recently, the most serious problem confronting scholars of this period was the relationship among three of its earliest works: the *Flores historiarum* of Roger of Wendover, the *Chronica maiora* of Matthew Paris, and the *Flores historiarum* of "Matthew of Westminster." Generally, it has been concluded that Wendover's work, extending from the creation to 1235, depends for its earliest part upon other chronicles and becomes original only after 1201;[141] the *Chronica maiora,* beginning with the creation and terminating on or about 1259, is a revision of Wendover's work and, after 1235, a continuation of it along drastically original lines;[142] while

the third of these works, again starting from the creation, is largely an extract from Matthew Paris with a number of sequels, and was erroneously attributed to the non-existent "Matthew" upon its first publication in 1567.[143] For our purposes, suffice it that of all English historians of the Middle Ages—our own great respect for William of Malmesbury notwithstanding[144]—the highest praise has been traditionally reserved for Matthew Paris (*ca.* 1199–1259), who was judged, by a no less discriminating authority than John Milton, as "the best of our Historians."[145] Paris was fond of saying, we are told, that "laziness is the enemy of the soul"; and while the massive work he left behind is ample testimony of his acceptance of this principle, it is assuredly not his prolific tendencies that elevate him to the rank he occupies. He is indeed "mediæval" in that respect, as he is in regard to originality of thinking and research into original sources, both of which he avoided like temptations to sin. But he was nevertheless endowed with a personality as strong as that of his Byzantine counterpart, Michael Psellus. Both are picturesque and vivacious writers, both hold decidedly personal views, both commend and denounce with equal vehemence, both color their works with their personalities and decorate them with captivating anecdotes and lively descriptions. The praise that later times have bestowed on Paris and Psellus was not misplaced.

If we were to pause at this point, nearly a thousand years after St. Augustine, to look for the finest exposition of the Christian view of history, we would find it neither in England nor in Byzantium, nor even among such impressive chroniclers of Latin Christendom as Otto of Freising and Vincent of Beauvais. The honor belongs rather to a poet in whose work the style is answerable to its great argument. This distinction is claimed for Dante not because he was influenced, as we know, by Augustine as well as by Orosius,[146] but because his *Commedia* is essentially a sweeping view of history from the divine standpoint, an eloquent affirmation that all temporal events, however hap-

hazard they may seem and however tragic they may be, are vital links in the golden chain of history stretching from the creation to the Last Judgment. This awareness struck Dante like a flash of lightning when, from the vantage point of the Eternal Present, he beheld the "universal form" of all things

> legato con amore in un volume,
> ciò che per l'universo si squaderna;
> sustanzia ed accidenti, e lor costume,
> quasi conflati insieme per tal modo,
> che ciò ch'io dico è un semplice lume.[147]

V

To our universalizing historians the achievement of Gutenberg (or whoever was responsible for the first use of moveable metal type) offered the delightful opportunity to prepare world histories that were to be at once more widely read and—if that was possible—even longer than their predecessors. One such massive work, Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle,* appeared near the end of the fifteenth century—though to its credit it was distinguished less by its formidable size and more by the handsome woodcuts of Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurf. The work is certainly well-grounded in tradition, for, commencing with the creation, it proceeds to a division of history into Six Ages. There follows a description of the Last Judgment with appropriately terrifying illustrations, but ingeniously introduced by six folio pages left totally blank[148]—blank but eloquent nevertheless, since they constituted an obvious invitation to the reader to take an inventory of his life before the horrid end. The chronicle concludes with a detailed account of the Seventh Age, when—as Spenser was to say in the last extant stanza of *The Faerie Queene*—

> no change shall be
> But steadfast rest of all things, firmely stayd
> Upon the pillours of eternity ...

We quote Spenser; and in quoting him we find that the Renaissance is already upon us.

The Renaissance ushered in a series of new ideas which were to pave the way for the ultimate secularization of history. Before turning our attention to those ideas, however, we are obliged to consider the attitude of the Protestant Reformers. Generally speaking, Protestants adhered to the traditional interpretation of history, for despite their professed lack of interest in the accretions of tradition, their debt to St. Augustine for numerous aspects of their thought almost necessarily dictated their acceptance of his "philosophy" of history as well. As a result, Protestant historians have no surprises in store for us. One typical example of their efforts was Luther's widely influential annals, naturally commencing with the creation;[149] and another, the *Chronica* of that agreeable advocate of "das innere Licht" Sebastian Franck (*ca.* 1499–*ca.* 1543), whose information, resulting in a world history from the creation to the rise of Protestantism, was drawn largely from the *Nuremberg Chronicle*.[150]

Protestant historians believed fanatically that the end of the world was very near. This conviction was not the result of pessimism, as was the case with some mediæval historians; it arose rather out of their sincere persuasion that they were providentially sent to warn the world of the imminent judgment—an attitude which links nearly all reformers within the Judaeo-Christian tradition, most obviously including the Hebrew prophets, Jesus and the early Christians, the "puritans" both of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance, the societies of saints in England as well as in New England, and finally the evangelists of our own era. In accordance with this point of view, most of the histories written by the early Protestants were strongly marked by eschatological tendencies, usually manifested in their efforts to interpret world history on the basis of the Book of Daniel, specifically the vision of the Four Monarchies.[151] The most important attempts in this direction were two: the extremely popular *Chronica* of Johann Carion (1499–1537), edited and subsequently enlarged by no less an authority than Philip Melanchthon,[152] and the more explicit *De quatuor summis*

imperiis of Johann Philippson, surnamed Sleidanus (1506–1556), whom Philip of Hesse appointed historiographer of the Reformation at the recommendation of Martin Bucer.[153] Both works begin with the creation of the world, and both recount the fortunes of four empires: Babylonia, Persia, Greece, and Rome—the last in far greater detail since its life, in accordance with the persistent German view of the continuity of the Roman and the Christian empires, was regarded by our authors as comprehending sixteenth-century Europe, presently declared to be nearing its end in fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy.

If the attitude of the Protestant Reformers is generally "traditional," it would be folly to claim that precisely the reverse is true of developments in secular circles. Indeed, in speaking of the Renaissance, it is debatable whether we do well to overemphasize the existence of "secular circles." Attempts to enlist humanists under the banner of liberation from tradition's chains are misguided and misleading. The total divorce between the sacred and the secular is a fallacy of far more recent date: during the Renaissance, it simply did not exist.

The Renaissance certainly did not lack editions of the fundamental expositions of the Christian view of history. *De civitate Dei* was one of the first works to be printed and, in France at any rate, one of the first to be translated into the vernacular.[154] Orosius' *apologia* proved just as popular,[155] while by the beginning of the seventeenth century nearly all mediæval historians, led by Vincent of Beauvais, had appeared in print.[156] The humanists were directly involved in all this activity, Scaliger reconstructing Eusebius' chronicle and its continuations,[157] Erasmus introducing the 1522 edition of *De civitate Dei,* Vives writing the well-known commentary on the same work. To demonstrate the continuity of tradition further we need only consider two other works, both histories of the universe since the creation, and both produced during the golden age of Italian humanist historiography: one, the *Chronica* of Archbishop Pierozzi of Florence, better known as St. Antoninus (1389–1459);[158] and

the other, the *Enneades* of none other than the famed humanist Marcantonio Coccio, surnamed Sabellicus (*ca.* 1436–1506).[159] Thus carried over from the past with the active support of humanists,[160] the torrent of universal histories continued well into the seventeenth century, all unfailingly commencing with the creation, and variously originating from every corner of Europe: France,[161] Italy,[162] the Netherlands,[163] Denmark,[164] Portugal,[165] Spain,[166] Hungary,[167] Germany.[168] To say that the province of these works was the universe may sound like an exaggeration, yet it is not. Here, as an example, is the title page of the 5th edition of Christoph Helwig's compilation, first published in 1616:

Theatrvm historicvm et chronologicvm, æqualibvs denariorvm, quinquagenariorum & centenariorum intervallis; cum assignatione imperiorvm, regnorvm, dynastiarvm, regvm, aliorvmqve virorvm celebrivm, prophetarvm, theologorum, iureconsultorum, medicorum, philosophorum, oratorum, historicorum, poëtarum, hæreticorum, rabbinorum, conciliorum, synodorum, academiarum, &c. itémque usitatarum epocharum, ita digestum, ut vniversa temporvm et historiarvm series à primo mundi exordio ad annum M.DC.L. quasi in speculo videri possit.[169]

These and similar histories of the universe are related to numerous other works of the period, notably the countless computations of chronology I have cited elsewhere,[170] and even the comprehensive bibliographies similarly commencing "ab initio mundi."[171] But affinities exist even further afield. In Portugal, for example, when the "Apostle of the Moluccas," António Galvão, wrote a history of the passage to India, he began his survey with the discoveries since the Flood;[172] in Germany, Heinrich Bullinger's demonstration of the antiquity of Christianity involved a consideration of all events since the world's creation;[173] while in France, Gabriel Naudé went as far back as Adam in his historical study of the occult sciences.[174] These widespread universalizing tendencies are also clearly apparent in the multitudinous histories of the Church, and even in martyr-

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ologies generally and the Anabaptist theory of martyrdom particularly.[175] For our purposes, two works, of catholic scope and of equally staggering length, may suffice as examples. One is the violently partisan *Ecclesiastica Historia,* in thirteen folio volumes (1559–1574), a collective effort supervised by the Lutheran theologian Matthias Flacius surnamed Illyricus, tracing the development of the Church to the year 1400 century-by-century (hence the other title of the work, *Centuriae Magdeburgenses*);[176] the other is the reply to the "Centuriators of Magdeburg," the *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Caesar Cardinal Baronius, in twelve folio volumes (1588–1607), its year-by-year account completed only up to 1198 before its author's death, but thereafter continued by such other great scholars as Henri de Sponde and Odorico Rinaldi.

Although we consider such works in isolation, the Renaissance did not. By now it is common knowledge that all levels of existence were then thought to be tightly knit through an elaborate hierarchical system of analogies and correspondences, and extending vertically—as an English writer phrased it—"from the Mushrome to the Angels."[177] To this cosmic structure, the world histories lent vital support: for as the Chain of Being upheld a vertical unity in the universe, so the world histories affirmed a horizontal unity throughout history, from its inception upon the act of creation to its termination upon the Last Judgment. The primary purpose of both the cosmic scheme and the world histories was to proclaim the order pervading all existence. Together they resulted in a conception of the universe so magnificent that, even if not quite responsible to observed fact, was at least grandiose enough to afford a competent poet, should he ever appear, the necessary background for a major epic.

VI

During the Italian Renaissance the Christian view of history had found still another champion in Giovanni Villani (*ca.* 1275–1348). His *Croniche Fiorentine,* of universal scope, begins with

the period immediately after the Flood; and being providentially-oriented, it views Totila, for example, as "flagellum Dei," destroying Florence by divine decree.[178] So far, of course, Villani was "traditional" enough; but at the same time, in what is an entirely novel development, he concentrated on the fortunes of a single city. Between Villani's *Chroniche Fiorentine* and the *Historie Fiorentine* of Machiavelli (1469–1527) intervene almost two centuries, yet within this period the broad framework of universal histories cracked and other aspects of the Christian view of history were damaged irreparably. This is not to say that Machiavelli dealt the ultimate blow to the traditional concepts, if only because no man could be said to have accomplished that task single-handed. Nevertheless, he represents in extreme the growing tendency to deviate more and more from the traditional methods of historiography.[179] One such deviation was readily noted by Thomas Fuller: "I know *Machiavel* was wont to say; That *he who undertakes to Write a History, must be of no Religion:* if so, *he* himselfe was the best qualified of any in *his Age* to be a *good Historian.*"[180] Fuller meant, of course, to insult; yet to the brave new wits of the time his statement was, ironically, a compliment.

The deviations from tradition were, naturally enough, very slow; and if their aggregate can be likened to a play, it was a play in many acts, of long duration, and with a variety of actors—notably including Leonardo Bruni, surnamed Aretino (1370–1444), whose *Historiarum florentini populi libri XII* may be regarded as representative of the efforts then current to exclude from consideration all fables and legends by relying only on authenticated sources;[181] Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536), whose *Novum instrumentum* put into practice what he and other humanists so often preached: the importance of the careful study of primary sources;[182] Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540), whose *Storia d'Italia* is the most strictly political history of the era, and of such half-hearted providential tendencies as to occasion much adverse criticism;[183] and Jean Bodin (1530–

1596), in whose *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* not the least achievement was a violent attack on the concept of the Four Monarchies.[184] These spokesmen for the new historiography resuscitated all the historians of Greece and Rome[185] as models worthy of imitation for their comparative veracity and their stylistic excellence. Where the ever-increasing attention to style is concerned, Livy soon emerged as the most pervasive influence on Renaissance historians writing in Latin,[186] with Tacitus trailing not far behind. What happened in Portugal was typical of developments throughout Western Europe: in spite of the universally-minded Galvão mentioned earlier, most of the other chroniclers of the Portuguese maritime exploits were far more inclined toward the classical historians, João de Barros clearly manifesting the influence of Livy, and Diogo do Couto that of Tacitus.

Subsequent attempts to secularize history became so widespread that they were undertaken even by exponents of such other disciplines as the science of international law, established at this time by Alberico Gentili and developed further by Hugo Grotius.[187] Even here the tendency is clear enough: for international law, by uniting the entire human race under the auspices of an authority other than Providence, ultimately advanced a secular view of history—a point which Grotius himself acknowledged, however cautiously, when he observed that his theory would be valid even if the existence of God were not granted.[188] As if this were not sufficiently damaging, others proposed new or revived old theories of history, of which the most widespread was the "cyclical" view, its expositions ranging from Bodin's numerological mazes in the *Methodus* to Louis Le Roy's eloquent affirmation of mutability in his popular *De la vicissitude ou varieté des choses en l'vniuers.*[189] By and large, the pattern emerging from these and parallel developments indicates a clearly marked propensity to abandon the providential view of history. More obviously still, the scope of histories became ever more limited as the focus of attention gradually shifted from

the supernatural to the natural, from the universe to the nation or to the principality or to the city, and finally—as hagiographies were displaced by secular biographies—to individual members of the *civitas terrena.*

Earlier we observed how the continuity of history was demonstrated, particularly by Germans, through the concept of the Four Monarchies; and we have also dwelt on the division of history into Six Ages, which during the Renaissance was accepted, we are told, by "y^e^ moste parte of approued Authors."[190] At the same time, however, in what is the clearest manifestation of the new historiographical temper, novel schemes of periodization began to emerge. Naturally they varied widely,[191] but the variations are not nearly so important as is the concerted effort itself to formulate and to adopt non-traditional schemes. One theory at least deserves to be mentioned, for it was made impressively early, had clear-cut implications, and exercised a decisive influence upon later historians. Authored by Petrarch (1304–1374), it located history's most crucial point in the decline of the Roman Empire—thus neatly disavowing the Christian claim that the central event of history is the Incarnation. Varying Petrarch's theory in degree, later humanists concluded that the aggregate of their activities constituted a period, not indeed of any "renaissance" chronologically distinct from preceding eras, but of a revival of the Graeco-Roman civilization that had declined with the decline of Rome. The intervening centuries were termed, not always with consistency, "Middle Ages"; the period of Greece and Rome, "classical"; and the age heralded by the humanists, "modern." All three designations, becoming standard by the end of the seventeenth century, stood for a scheme of periodization in diametric opposition to the Christian division of history into "B.C." and "A.D."[192]

VII

Across the Channel, sometime in the middle of the sixteenth century, Sir David Lindsay composed his *Dialog betuix Experi-*

ence and ane Courteour, otherwise known as *The Monarche.*[193] This lengthy poem sums up the three most important strains in the Christian view of history. In the first place, the poem is didactic, including for good measure an account of "ye miserabyll end off certane tyrane princis." At the same time, it is a metrical version of the typical history of the universe, beginning with the creation and terminating in "the moste terrabyll day of the extreme iugement." Finally, it expounds the providential theory of history, specifically the traditional view that

> God, aye sen the warld began,
> Hes maid of tyrrane Kyngis Instrumentis
> To scurge peple, and to keill mony one man,
> Quhilk*is* to his law wer Inobedientis
> Quhen thay had done perfurneis his ententis,
> In dantyng wrangus peple schamefullye,
> He sufferit thame be scurgit creuellye.[194]

As Dante like another Janus looks both before and after, so Lindsay not only closes the Middle Ages but also leads directly into the Renaissance. His threefold formulation of the traditional views, far from expiring with him, proved durable enough to survive well into the Restoration and beyond.

It is not necessary to dwell here at any length on the Renaissance view that history is "a most clere and perfect myrror" wherein one may behold "the very lyuely Image and expresse figur of his inward mind enstructyng him how to gwyde and order hymselfe in all things";[195] as numerous scholars have already told us, such a view was expressed so often that it is easily one of the great commonplaces of the age.[196] And the capital lesson of history was, to Christian writers, clear enough. In a typical outburst, Richard Brathwait, after glancing swiftly across the centuries, became positively ecstatic:

> What ambitious Tyrants proud of their owne strength, and secure of diuine power, are laid flat in the height of their expectancies: so as where they planted the foundation of their hopes, there they were most defeated, to expresse the prouidence, & all-working Maiesty of

God, who disposeth of all gouernments, pulling down the tyrannicall Empires, and setting wise and discreet Princes in their place.[197]

From this it is but a step to the widely-accepted theory that God, as Lindsay observed, "Hes maid of tyrrane Kyngis Instrumentis/ To scurge peple." The traditional basis of this viewpoint is clearly evident in George Petter's summary exposition of God's interference in human affairs:

in the times of the Old Testament, God punished the wicked Jews by the *Chaldeans* or *Assyrians,* and therefore the King of *Assyria* is called the rod of Gods anger, Esay 10.5 Afterward he punished the *Chaldeans* or *Assyrians,* by the *Persians;* the *Persians,* by the *Grecians*; the *Grecians,* by the *Romans*; ... the *Romans* by other Nations, as by the *Goths* and *Vandalls* ... And of later times, how God hath scourged one Nation by another for their sins, and doth at this day, is well known unto all.[198]

Foremost among the scourges of God "at this day" was, as I have pointed out elsewhere, the Ottoman Empire.[199] At the same time, extending further the theory initiated long since by Isaiah, it was argued that God uses all aspects of the created order, as "by shooting out his three *evill arrowes* (so called in regard of their evill effects) *Plague, Famine, Sword.*"[200] In the summary statement of a versifier of the period,

> When God seuerely scourgeth any land,
> He seconds plagues, with plagues, and woes with woes,
> He taketh his three stringed whip in hand,
> Of derth, of death, of home, of farraigne foes,
> And from these three, all desolation growes.[201]

As the clouds of discontent became darker over England, ever greater stress was placed on God's evil arrows. Even so, however, Englishmen did not fail to realize that God, in measure equal to his love for mankind, occasionally supervises the destinies of select nations for a benevolent end. To the English, one such nation was, of course, England—particularly Elizabethan England. Here are the words of the celebrated Sir Henry Wotton on Elizabeth I—incidentally an eloquent reiteration of the providential view of history:

I am fully perswaded, that her Grace is preserved and reserved to great fortune to some marvelous purpose; her qualities exceeding other Princes conditions; her fortune being more then ordinary, and her dangers escaped, not prudently, but providently, not by humane policy, but by divine prevention; give me good occasion to presume, that he that disposeth of Kings, and all Kings Actions, lengtheneth her days, and hath dedicated her years to some notable accident: For what he hath intended, man cannot prevent: what he purposeth, humane wit cannot change or alter, his resolutions are in Heaven, ours on earth; his eternal, ours changeable; his immutable, ours subject to alteration; We propose, he disposeth; we intend, he changeth; we desire, he ruleth, yea so ruleth, that he directeth our thoughts, leadeth our counsels, inclineth our dispositions to his will and pleasure.[202]

Similar persuasions concerning God's supervision of the affairs of England were also expressed in relation to such miraculous events as the abortive invasion of the "bloudie and cruell" Spaniards, smashed by God with his "owne hand," or the discovery of that "damnable and diuellish proiect," the Gunpowder Plot, prevented just in time "by the wisedome of our gratious God."[203] But examples are endless, in measure equal to man's infinite capacity to claim divine support for any task whatsoever.

Renaissance England had such a preference for explicit formulations of the providential view of history that indirect statements were avoided altogether or, if made, were corrected as soon as possible. Sir Geoffrey Fenton, for example, was impressed neither with the vagueness of the Deity nor with the idea of Fortune in Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia;* whereupon, in translating it, he altered the original in such a way as to make it lucidly orthodox.[204] Similarly, the first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577), though hardly unorthodox, was nevertheless revised in the second edition (1587), so that from being merely immersed in providentialism, it was later sunk in it.[205] Such insistence on clarity, displayed by all "sound" historians, is manifest particularly—if it was not clear enough elsewhere—in their accounts of the battle at Agincourt. Typically, Edward Hall's

description of the battle contains nothing new, for he related what others had said before and were to say again. There is the unwise reliance of the French upon their numerical superiority, with a comment on their "haute courage and proud stomackes"—obviously in preparation for the subsequent moral lesson; the contrasting orations of the Constable of France, who spends his energy ridiculing the English, and of Henry V, who invokes the assistance of God; and the aftermath, when the victorious king "caused *Te deum* with certaine anthemes to be song geuyng laudes and praisynges to God, and not boasting nor braggyng of him selfe nor his humane power."[206] Then, making the obvious more explicit, Hall writes, glancing all the way back to ancient Israel:

> THIS battail maie be a mirror and glasse to al Christian princes to beholde and folowe, for kyng Henry nether trusted in the puissance of his people, nor in the fortitude of his champions, nor in the strength of his banded horses, nor yet in his owne pollicy, but he putte in GOD (which is the corner stone and immouable rocke) his whole cõfidence hope & trust. And he which neuer leaueth them destitrute [*sic*] that put their confidence in hym, sent to hym this glorious victory, whiche victory is almoste incredible if we had not redde in the boke of kynges that God likewise had defended and aided them that onely put their trust in him and committed them selfes wholy to his gouernaunce.[207]

Shakespeare, similarly chained to tradition, not only had Henry V repeatedly acknowledge his total reliance on God, but also expounded the common view of war as an instrument of divine justice.[208] Everywhere else, admittedly, Shakespeare consistently refused to indulge in the common pastime of explicitness; most commonly, indeed, he was wont to stress the inscrutability of Providence.[209] Even so, however, he belongs squarely within the Christian tradition.[210]

When all is said, the most eloquent testimony to the persistence of the traditional view of history in England remains the avalanche of universal chronicles. The metaphor is not hyperbolic. A considerable number of the Continental ecumenically-

minded authors were made available in English, such as Carion, Pétau, Doglioni, Faria y Sousa, Galvão, Bullinger, Naudé, and the popular Sleidanus.[211] Yet so marked was the preference for "our owne *Moderne Chronicles*,"[212] that from the dawn of the sixteenth century onwards there was a stream of editions not only of such "classics" as Higden's *Polycronicon*, but also of such popular "modern" works as *The Cronycle of Fabyan* (1516). Yet Robert Fabyan refused to start his chronicle with the creation since, as he explained, "in the accomptynge of the yeres of the worlde from y^{e} Creacion of Adam vnto the incarnation of Crist been many and sundry oppynyons": so, in a display of remarkable critical acumen, he began with a much more reliable event, the Flood. The next work to appear, *The Chronicle of Ihon Hardyng* (1543), carried another aspect of the tradition into the sixteenth century in that it was a metrical version of the usual universal history—though Hardyng, who was less scrupulous than Fabyan, chose to begin with Adam ("in all vertue / Was none him lyke in no place that men knewe"). Shortly thereafter another writer endlessly concerned with "origins," John Bale, went even further: in *A Tragedye or Enterlude manyfestyng the Chefe Promyses of God vnto Man* (1547?), he offered a dramatized panorama of the most significant events from "before the heavens were create" to John the Baptist—though the work could conceivably impress some as being neither history nor drama, and still less poetry.[213] In the meantime, a young man named Thomas Lanquet was engaged in the composition of *An Epitome of Cronicles,* again starting from the creation and reaching, "through the thicke mistes and darkenes" of the past, to the Incarnation. The work, left unfinished when Lanquet died at the age of 24, was completed by Bishop Thomas Cooper (1549) and thereafter continued to the reign of Elizabeth I by Robert Crowley (1559). Four years later, Richard Grafton published an abridgment of yet another world history, later expanded into *A Chronicle at Large and Meere History of the Affayres of Englande* (1569), similarly commencing with

the account of creation by that "deuine Prophet and Historiographer" Moses. A far more ambitious project was already being planned as Reginald Wolfe, printer to the Queen, began to think in terms of "an vniuersall Cosmographie of the whole world." But death interfered once again, and Wolfe's grandiose plans were drastically reduced to a mere collection of *The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Irelande* (1577)—though even this work did not fail to begin "in the beginning whē God framed the worlde." The editor of this composite work was Raphael Holinshed, from whom the road leads, once again, to Shakespeare.[214]

By this time support was lent to the traditional attitude by the antiquary John Stow, who in *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* (1565), later re-named *Annales,* started his account with the Flood; nor is it insignificant, but rather a sign of the times, that by 1631 Stow's work had gone through more than twenty revised editions. Equally interesting is the attitude of John Speed, for critically-minded though he was, and albeit commenting on the futility of attempting to discover "things so farre cast into the mistie darknesse of obscuritie and obliuion," nevertheless agreed with Stow in that he also commenced his narrative with the Flood.[215] In the face of such formidable support, greater and lesser writers only too naturally compiled numerous similar chronicles, among them—all similarly commencing with the creation—Lodowick Lloyd's *The Consent of Time* (1590), John More's *A Table from the Beginning of the World* (1593), Roger Cotton's metrical version *A Spirituall Song: conteining an Historicall Discourse from the Infancie of the World* (1596), the widely-respected William Perkins' *Specimen digesti* (1598), and Anthony Munday's *A Briefe Chronicle... from the Creation* (1611). But in terms of popularity no work approaches either the magniloquent discourse of Sir Walter Ralegh (1552?–1618) of Joshua Sylvester's translation of the epic by Du Bartas (1544–1590).

Le sepmaine ou création du monde by Guillaume de Salluste

du Bartas was first published in 1578; it was followed six years later by its sequel, *La seconde semaine ou enfance du monde.* By the first decade of the seventeenth century the work had already been translated, in whole or in part, into Italian, German, Dutch, English, and Latin. However restrained the praise of Du Bartas may have been on the Continent,[216] his popularity in England constitutes a phenomenon: Sylvester's translation was a smashing success,[217] going through countless partial and complete editions, and resulting in the wide and unmerited recognition of Du Bartas as "a Poet above the ordinary level of the world."[218] Judged as poetry, the work can only be found wanting; but in terms of its scope and influence, it is a major achievement, easily the most ambitious metrical history of the universe available to Renaissance England until that time. Strictly orthodox, it expounds the providential view of history; and though the narrative is carried only to Nebuchadrezzar's final capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., the ultimate end is kept firmly in view through the vision of the universal conflagration to be initiated by "the *Chief-Chief-Iustice,* venging Wrath."[219]

Equally orthodox is *The History of the World* (1614), the major achievement of *l'uomo universale* Sir Walter Ralegh.[220] Fifty years after its publication, Thomas Fuller could find only one defect in it, that it was left unfinished;[221] and though Ralegh did interrupt his narrative in 168 B.C., his work is as unaffected by its incompleteness as is *The Faerie Queene.* Its enormous popularity is not only testified by the ten editions that appeared before the Restoration; equally telling are the repeated quotations from it throughout the seventeenth century, as well as the wide approbation it received, often verging on hagiolatry.[222] But the best confirmation of its essential orthodoxy remains the decision of Alexander Ross to undertake its abridgment as well as its continuation[223]—a point not to be dismissed lightly since Ross was frightfully concerned with the slightest deviation from the straight and narrow path, his victims including (for he was discriminating) Sir Thomas Browne, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir

Francis Bacon, William Harvey, Thomas Hobbes, and all the followers of Copernicus and Galileo.

Ralegh's universal history, though the best, is hardly the only work of its kind in the seventeenth century. In 1650, introducing Pétau's world chronicle to England, "R.P." observed that "Sir *Walter Rawleigh* and others that have highly deserved by their Atchievements in the Theatre of History, have so voluminously inlarged themselves, that the Reader's patience is too discourteously oppressed."[224] Such thoughtful concern, once expressed, was soon forgotten, and the universal historians marched merrily on: James Gordon, Henry Isaacson, James Ussher, Thomas Allen, William Howell, Robert Baillie.[225] In addition, a host of other writers, both before and after Ralegh, although preoccupied with tasks other than the composition of world chronicles, still exemplify certain aspects of the traditional attitudes. As examples I may cite Thomas Heywood's best non-dramatic work, the *Troia Britanica* (1609), a comprehensive depository of myths cast within the framework of "an Vniuersall Chronicle from the Creation"; Samuel Purchas' *Pvrchas his Pilgrimage* (1613), representative of the literature of travel, but expanded into a universal history out of sheer inability to discard any of the consulted "seuen hundred Authors, of one or other kind" (the kinds: "Sacred, Prophane, Learned, Vnlearned, Ancient, Moderne, Good, and Bad");[226] Joseph Mede's *Clavis apocalyptica* (1632), typical of the countless chiliastic interpretations of the Johannine Apocalypse, naturally focusing on the Day of Wrath but, mindful of the linear nature of history, glancing back to the beginning of history as well;[227] and John Swan's *Specvlvm mvndi* (1635), an encyclopaedic work of such catholic scope that it includes everything conceivable, and many things inconceivable, from the beginning to the end of history.[228]

Yet in order to appreciate the multitude of branches sprouting from the same tree, we should also glance at what is perhaps the most moving prose work of the English Reformation, the

martyrology of John Foxe (1517–1587).[229] Neither the author nor the work has fared well in modern times: the uncompromising verdict is that the work is "the longest pamphlet ever composed by the hand of man," and its author "the first great journalist in English history."[230] Admittedly, Foxe was a partisan; let us remember, however, that he was writing in an age steeped in partisan emotions—different from ours, I venture to suggest, in degree but not in kind. What matters essentially is the purpose of the work which transcends its frequent lack of literary merit. The capital concern of Foxe was not so much to prove that the Vatican had turned "truth into heresie," but to celebrate that "true christian fortitude" which is patience and heroic martyrdom. For our purposes, his labors are only too relevant: for in claiming that his work constitutes "a liuely testimony of Gods mighty workyng in the life of man," Foxe accepted the providential view of history; in harking back to the apostolic times, he clasped hands with all ecclesiastical historians; in recording the acts and monuments of the heroes of the faith as "examples of great profite," he allied himself with the tradition of the *exempla;* while in his conception of true fortitude he looked not only back to the impressive tradition that had already translated patience from weakness to strength,[231] but also ahead to the exposition of the same ideal at the outset of the ninth book of *Paradise Lost.*

VIII

Despite the seeming approbation of the traditional view of history, the current of opinion in England was already merging with the stream of Italian historiography to become, in the two centuries following, a mighty torrent. In England, more than in Italy, the best way to approach the shifting point of view is by a consideration of the feverish activities of translators, particularly since among them was no less a personage than the Queen herself.[232] At present, of course, it is hardly novel to point out that translation, especially in Elizabethan England, had

become an art in itself.[233] Nearly all translators were wont to apologize for having stripped so many works of their original garments and dressed them with "a playne English cote"; but that they did so at all is most significant, particularly since no translation was a light burden but each (as William Crosse said of his version of Sallust) "smelles of the Lampe." Thus, despite their open disavowal of "our vulgar toong," the pride they all shared in their native language and its potentialities is all too evident, and their concerted endeavors must be seen as contributing to the severance of the last bond uniting Europe, the Latin language.

In another way, what is of even greater significance is the nature of the works selected for translation. At first glance, one is likely to be impressed by the tremendous number of theological and religious books rendered into English. A closer scrutiny, however, reveals them to be capitally the works of Continental Reformers. Of the older "traditional" texts, only five were made available in English—a discrimination dictated, in each case, by purely contemporary circumstances. Thus Thomas Lodge, in translating the complete works of Josephus (1602), in all probability did so not for any doctrinal reasons but because humanists such as Scaliger had already commended Josephus as a reliable historian.[234] Meredith Hanmer, in rendering the ecclesiastical histories of Eusebius and others (1577), was motivated by the peculiarly Protestant desire to proclaim what should still be done in order to eliminate "the difference that is in these our dayes betvvene the Church and the Apostolicke times."[235] Similarly, Thomas Stapleton translated Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (1565) in order to demonstrate "the misse information of a fevve for displacing the auncient and right Christian faith." Besides, as Stapleton pointedly observed, Bede is "a countreman of oures" —a patriotic note also sounded in 1638 when Thomas Habington published his version of the history of Gildas, who "above a thousand yeeres agoe" proved, we are told, that England was not "overwhelmed with Barbarisme," but was in fact the fountain-

head of "wisdome." To these four "traditional" works we should not fail to add John Healey's celebrated translation of *De civitate Dei* (1610), a work enthusiastically welcomed by Protestants since Augustine was, of course, the guiding light of the Reformation.

With the exception of these five works, there was a noteworthy failure to translate any of the manifold expositions of the Christian view of history written since Augustine: not only the entire array of mediæval world chronicles remained imprisoned in the original Latin, but even earlier "philosophers" of history—Sulpicius Severus, Orosius, Salvian—were not made available in English.[236] Obviously, the eyes of England were, by choice, no longer squarely fixed on the Christian tradition. Just as obviously, they were fixed instead on the historians of Greece and Rome and Renaissance Italy—securely fixed on them, indeed, as we know from the impressive number of the classical and humanist historians translated into English.[237] But the most telling testimony of the gradual change in the climate of opinion is to be seen in the translation of Machiavelli's *Discorsi* and *Il Principe*. Of a considerable number of translations surviving in manuscript,[238] only the attempts of Edward Dacres were published: the *Discovrses* in 1636, and the *Prince* in 1640. Not unwisely, however, even Dacres approached his perilous task with caution: in his preface to both translations he dutifully denounced Machiavelli's theories as "pernicious," although he also had the courage to suggest that perhaps some good might still be derived from all that evil ("From the same flower the Bee sucks hony, from whence the Spider hath his poyson"). But Machiavelli was widely known even without Dacres' "English cote." George Webbe, who was somewhat less than enthusiastic about "this incarnate Deuill," nevertheless reported his reputation faithfully:

> Alas he liueth yet, and is liked too much: his writings are too plentifull in Stationers shops, in Gentlemens studies, in Citizens chambers; yea it is to bee feared, that it is now growne habituall amongst vs,

which a French writer complained, was crept in amongst his Countrimen; *They make Tacitus their Gospell, They studie Lucian more than the old Testament, and Machiauel more than the new.*[239]

But the translations of the classical and humanist historians yielded another villain besides Machiavelli: Thomas Hobbes, the translator of Thucydides (1629), presently launching a career whose impact on the old order was to cause the exasperation later evidenced in the reply of the alarmed Alexander Ross, tellingly entitled *Leviathan drawn out with a hook.*[240]

At the basis of the great interest taken in classical and humanist historians was the persuasion that the Greeks and the Romans, as well as their heirs in Renaissance Italy, had approximated to "truth" most closely. The time was still far off when Moses would cease to be regarded as the most accurate historian in the world, but the process of his displacement is already evident during the Renaissance. Unlikely as it may seem, one of the first signs of the gathering storm appeared over Scotland when John Bellenden—possibly by way of penance for his version of Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historiae*[241]—translated the first five books of Livy with the proclamation that their author is the "prince of historiographouris." Although Bellenden's Livy was not published until the early nineteenth century,[242] it is interesting that his counterpart in England, Philemon Holland, had independently reached the same conclusion. In 1600, speaking of Livy but incidentally stating the reasons for the ever-increasing preference for the classical historians, Holland had this to say of "that vvhich most of all commendeth an historie":

> an historie, . . . being *lux veritatis,*[243] ought especially to deliver vvith synceritie the vvhole truth & nothing but the truth, vvithout respect of face or person: to keep only to the substance & train of the subject argumẽt; the due & orderly regard of the important circumstances thereto belonging, vvithout inserting extravagant & impertinent by-matters, much lesse then, fabulous tales.[244]

Holland failed to be specific about the precise "fabulous tales" he had in mind. But then any intelligent reader would have

readily concluded that he was thinking specifically of such legends as those of Brut and Arthur, for by 1600 the decline of both had already commenced, while their fall, if far from accomplished, was certainly imminent. Some of the factors contributing to this development deserve to be considered, however briefly, since they cast light upon the historiographical temper of Renaissance England. In my account, however, I will concentrate less on Arthur and more on Brut, not only because scholars have been more generous toward the former,[245] but also because our concern here is to a large extent with "origins."

Geoffrey of Monmouth (*ca.* 1100–1154), although the protagonist of our story, requires no further attention than has been already accorded him; suffice it therefore that he thought it "curious" that both Gildas and Bede were silent about the noble eras of Brut and Arthur, to repair which deficiency he translated into Latin "a certain most ancient book" that had come into his possession. The book, the *Historia Regum Britanniae*,[246] was almost certainly the work of Geoffrey himself; and while its *raison d'être* is not our concern here, we must at least observe that it met with such wide and lasting favor that historical writing in England for the next four hundred years may be regarded as being largely a series of footnotes to Geoffrey's imaginative "history."[247] In fact, mediæval chroniclers in England inadvertently elevated the *Historia* to the level of the Book of Genesis, for if they ever failed to begin with the Mosaic account of creation, then their point of departure was bound to be—with but few exceptions—Geoffrey's Brut. Instances of this are only too numerous, but I might mention Henry of Huntington and Walter of Coventry, whose chronicles are typical of the mediæval compilations based on Geoffrey;[248] Robert of Brunne, who attempted a metrical version of a similar collection in the "Inglis tonge";[249] and a number of French versions, in prose as well as in verse.[250] Demonstrating this impressive continuity of tradition, here is a delightful adaptation of the legend of Brut in Scots, written in the middle of the fifteenth century by John Lesley:

Gif quha walde knawe the name of Britannie monie referris it vnto Brut*us* the son of Silui*us* Posthum*us* King of the Latines, and oye of Æneas, and him to be the author baith of the name and natione of Britannie. The maist com*m*oune speiking is this, that xl. ȝeirs eftir the seige of Troy, quhill Brutus with grett sollicitude and kair was seiking a resting place with some troiane Iwalis and reliques, eftir sair trauell quhen mony dangeris he escaped had, at last he landet in Albion. Thaireftir the Ile he named Britannie, and his c*u*mpanie britanis. Bot quhat vthiris lait writeris speik of this name p*er*chance mair curious than true, I, haldeng me content with the opinione of ancient Antiquitie, regarde nocht.[251]

When Lesley wrote these lines, the reputation of Geoffrey was still secure; as he was aware, however, some "lait writeris" had begun to wonder whether such stories were "mair curious than true." Concerning King Arthur, Ranulph Higden had already decided that he was largely a mythical figure,[252] while Erasmus bluntly dismissed the entire Arthurian matter as "stupid."[253] Brut fared no better. In the words of John Rastell, written as early as 1529, "this story semyth more meruelouse thã trew & though it hath cõtynued here in Englõd & takyn for a trewth amõg vs Englyshmẽ yet other pepull do therfore laugh vs to skorne & so me semyth they may ryght well."[254] Five years later, in a work published at Basle, the stories of Brut and Arthur were reconsidered thoroughly, predictably resulting in the rejection of both as unauthentic. The author was the Italian humanist Polydore Vergil (*ca.* 1470–1555); his work, the *Anglica Historia*.[255] Generously used thereafter by English historians, it was nevertheless not once praised during the Tudor era. If anything, the work became the rallying point for the expected patriotic outbursts against Vergil ("that most rascall dogge knave").[256]

A single blow cannot kill a tradition; even in the face of mounting criticism, therefore, the legend of Brut—"Felix Brutus"[257]—persisted. In 1547 Arthur Kelton, contemptuously disregarding Vergil, published *A Chronycle with a Genealogie declaryng that the Brittons and Welshemen are lineally de-*

scended from Brute, with a further extension back to Osiris ("the first kyng of Egipt"). Such claims, already popular before Elizabeth's accession,[258] became even more numerous during her reign. Thus in 1565 the antiquary John Stow, despite "paynfull searche" into primary sources, accepted Brut's existence in agreement with "the most ancient and best approued Authours";[259] in 1574 John Higgins confidently commenced his extension of the *Mirror for Magistrates* with Brut; in 1577, Holinshed dismissed criticisms of the legend firmly ("wee shall not doubte of Brutes hyther comming");[260] in 1589 William Warner added an appendix to his *Albions England* to clarify the rather remote times of Aeneas, "Patriarke of our *Brutones*"; while a year later, in the most calculated defiance of that rascal Vergil, appeared the first three books of *The Faerie Queene.*[261] But the new critics proved just as resourceful since they were able to enlist the cooperation of England's greatest antiquary, William Camden (1551–1623), widely acclaimed as "the glory of our Nation."[262] Camden was the most diplomatic of all writers on Brut. His *Britannia* (1586), later translated by Philemon Holland, begins with typical Elizabethan restraint by calling his country "the most famous Island, without comparison of the whole world." Next, in direct opposition to his fellow-antiquary Stow, Camden refused even to start with the Flood by pleading ignorance ("whether there were any Islands at all before the Deluge, it is not my purpose here to argue"). Then, turning his attention to "those reports of Brutus," he wrote:

> For mine owne part, it is not my intent, I assure you, to discredit and confute that story which goes of him, for the upholding whereof (I call *Truth* to record) I have from time to time streined to the heighth, all that little wit of mine. For that were, to strive with the streame and currant of time; and to struggle against an opinion commonly and long since received. How then may I, a man of so meane parts, and small reckoning, be so bold, as to sit in examination of a matter so important, and thereof definitvely to determine? Well, I referre the matter full and whole to the Senate of Antiquaries, for to be decided. Let every man, for me, judge as it pleaseth him; and of

what opinion soever the Reader shall be of, verily I will not make it a point much material.[263]

Camden's attitude is a reflection of parallel developments on the Continent. The English were not, of course, the only ones to regard the Trojans as their direct forefathers; nearly all Western Europeans claimed as much,[264] barring principally the Portuguese whose capital is said to have been founded by another worthy mariner, the πολύτροπος Odysseus.[265] By the seventeenth century, however, all such legends were declining on the Continent as they were in England. In France, for example, Louis de Mayerne-Turquet issued a warning: "The beginning and Antiquitie of nations farre fetcht, is alwaies fabulous..."[266] Thus also one of the most persuasive of "modernists," Jean de Serres, who related the legend concerning the origins of the French only in order to dismiss it:

If we were to seeke truth in vanitie, following the common error, to search for the originall of the FRENCH, in the ruines and ashes of TROY or in the fennes of *Meotides,* for in the most auncient Histories of the *Trojans,* there is no mention of FRANCVS or FRANCION, sonnes of *Hector,* who had but one sonne named *Astianax* slayne at three yeares of age in the sacke of *Troy.* There is also no likelyhood to find the stemme of our FRENCH nation in the fennes of *Meotides,* where they were first called SICAMBRES, hauing built a Citty by imagination named SICAMBRA: And that they issued from thence in great troups. There is no more proofe that they are come from these marishes, then from the desarts of *Affricke.*[267]

Fifty years later restraint was replaced by abuse: "in a manner," declared Naudé quite inaccurately, "all Histories within seven or eight hundred years past are so hydropically swoln with lying legends, that a man would think the Authors of them had made it their main strife, who should advance the greatest number."[268]

Such also was the progress in England. After Camden, the two extremes persisted: on the one hand, the enlightened attitude of such writers as John Speed, who paused long enough to deliver the pun that "neuer any such *Brute* raigned in the

world";[269] and on the other, the defenders of tradition, still insisting that "We are not *Brittons,* we are *Brutans,*"[270] and still scornfully dismissing such "strangers" as Vergil who "deserue not to be laid in ballance to counterprize the authority of so many learned Authors in our countrey."[271] Steadily, however, the traditionalists were reduced to a minority. By the early seventeenth century the prevalent mood was one of caution, best exemplified in Samuel Daniel's attempt to strike the proper balance between reliable sources ("the best approued Monuments domesticall and forraine") and opinions sanctified by time ("we are not . . . so freed, to trafficque, all vppon our owne coniectures, without custome of tradition"); yet even Daniel was compelled to reject the authenticity of Brut completely and of Arthur tentatively.[272] It was an inevitable conclusion for any one pretending to be "of no other side, then of Truth," for in aiming at such "antique Originals," as John Clapham had already pointed out, "a man may much more easily shoote wide, then hit the marke."[273] Poets and versifiers continued to cling to the past just the same,[274] but among historians the initially hesitant criticism of the traditional approach to historiography was soon replaced by open rebellion, dramatically expedited by the collapse of the monarchy and the attendant break with the past. Two years before that event, in 1647, Thomas May was fully persuaded that it was no longer "needful to begin the Story from times of any great distance,"[275] while by 1658 Francis Osborn felt free to denounce the traditional confinement to "*Patterns* and *old Forms*" and to challenge his contemporaries to "*new* and *forbidden Discoveries.*"[276] Finally, on the very year of the monarchy's restoration, William Winstanley unhesitatingly rebuked all past historians for confounding "naked truth" with "ridiculous falshoods."[277]

Osborn's grand challenge did not constitute a revolution; as he himself must have known, it was but the culminating point in an evolutionary process. Contributing to that process, as we have seen, were in part the translators of classical and humanist

historians, and in part the critics of the "fabulous tales" of Brut and Arthur. But other developments were equally important, among them the rise of secular biographies in direct opposition to the hagiographies of the past;[278] also the fragmentation of historiography particularly under the formidable influence of Bacon, who distinguished ecclesiastical history from its civil and literary counterparts;[279] and at the same time, as a direct result of Continental developments, the return of the "cycles." The restoration of the "cyclical" view of history in England occurred under the cover of a related idea. Its most popular name was "mutability"; its most common metaphor, the Wheel—"the ever-whirling wheele / Of Change, the which all mortall things doth sway."[280] So long as the gyrations of this wheel were affirmed to be under the ultimate control of Providence, appearances at least were saved. But an ever-increasing number of writers refused to be so explicit, while others simply thought it was beyond their province to assume the role of a "diuyne." An interesting example of the changing attitude is afforded by Ralph Carr's epistle dedicatory to *The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie* (1600). Acknowledging the Turks to be "the terror of the West," Carr dutifully asserted that "God almightie in his secret iudgements doth hasten their proceedings, to chastice the ingratitude of vs Christians for the small thankefulnesse wee show for so many his gratious benefits liberally (though vnworthely) bestowed on vs." Suddenly, however, a new note is struck. "But my office," Carr went on, "is not of a diuyne, hauing in purpose to make knowē onely what they [the Turks] haue euen from the first done, and daylie doe, rather then the reason of the deede." Then, no longer to our surprise, comes the "cyclical" view of history in the company of a familiar image:

> I am in opinion often a *Platonist,* assigning all mortall affaires necessarelie a periode in theyr perfection, to which hauing attayned, they fall into a retrogade of declining, vntil they be brought to the lowest degree which miseries can alot: nor there long continuing, againe and againe reuiue and arise from foorth the ashes like to the *Arabian Phœnix* . . .

Yet the ladder whereon Jacob saw angels ascending and descending still did not topple. It held firm, at least for a while, because of Milton.

IX

Milton's *History of Britain,* first published in 1670, was the product of the recent developments in historiography. Milton consulted all the sources at his disposal, being conscious of the admonitions of the humanists; and he selected his material in such a diligent and constructive manner that he has been judged "a judicious and conservative scholar."[281] In his *History,* admittedly, Milton retained a number of the portents reported by earlier writers, but lest we are inclined to regard this as an obviously "mediæval" element in his work, we must remember that rarely did the humanists think it wise to by-pass popular superstitions. Even Polydore Vergil, critically-minded though he was, nevertheless wove into the fabric of his *Anglica Historia* an overwhelming series of portents. Vergil, in fact, while not necessarily one of Milton's "sources," constitutes one of his finest precedents. Besides the use of portents in both, Milton also extended Vergil's break with the annalistic form of history by similarly writing a continuous narrative. More obviously still, Milton's work is an application of Vergil's conclusion that "ther is nothinge more obscure, more uncertaine, or unknowne then the affaires of the Brittons from the beginninge."[282] Milton's initial plans for an Arthurian epic are, of course, well-known and need no further rehearsal here.[283] But what might be less known is that he had also contemplated commencing that epic with Brut:

> I shall sing of the Trojan prows
> Cleaving the seas beneath the cliffs of Kent,
> And the old Kingdom that was Imogen's,
> And Arvirach, was son of Cymbeline,
> And Bren and Belin, ancient British captains,
> And the Breton coast brought under Britain's law.[284]

If ultimately Milton avoided both Brut and Arthur, that was not

because of any "disillusionment" with his countrymen, but capitally because of the accumulated doubts cast on "the affaires of the Brittons from the beginninge." As he lucidly observed in the opening sentence of his *History of Britain,* "The beginning of Nations, those excepted of whom sacred Books have spok'n, is to this day unknown." For that reason, the *History* commences with the Roman invasion.

Milton, however, was not merely a humanist; he was, specifically, a *Christian* humanist, ever endeavoring to wed the novelties of the present with the august traditions of the past. Accordingly, while heeding current developments, he did not lose sight of the attitudes of earlier Christian historians. At the very outset of his *History,* he stated explicitly that his singular purpose was "to relate well and orderly things worth the noting, so as may best instruct and benefit them that read."[285] Such instruction depended not only on an extension of the tradition of the *exampla,* but particularly on a reiteration of the providential view of history. For Milton, as for his great predecessors, human events constituted a record of God's constant intervention in the affairs of the world. Whoever the conquerors of Britain were, whether the Romans or the Danes, they were alike administrators of divine justice. Thus Milton stands in the direct line of descent that leads from the Hebrew prophets, through the early Christians and the mediæval historians, to the Renaissance. All-encompassing as his knowledge was, he had read the contributions of every major writer until his time, notably Isaiah, St. Paul, Eusebius, Augustine, Orosius, Isidore, Bede—and including among the historians of the Renaissance the "eminent" and "ever-renownd" Sir Walter Ralegh, for one of whose works he served as editor.[286]

Some forty years before the publication of the *History of Britain,* when Milton was twenty-one years of age, he had already displayed his full awareness of the Christian view of history in a poem that is, in more ways than one, a prelude to *Paradise Lost.* That poem is the *Nativity Ode.*

It is a poem, we have been told, in which the Atonement is "an abstract and remote performance."[287] This is a true enough judgment if Milton's treatment of the birth of Jesus is compared, as often happens, to Crashaw's Nativity "hymne."[288] But the advantages of such a comparison are questionable. After all, no two poets of the seventeenth century are more diametrically opposed than Crashaw and Milton, whether we consider their temperaments, their loyalties, or their approach to poetry. Their celebration of the Nativity is, accordingly, vastly different. Crashaw's is almost exclusively "vertical," while Milton's is primarily "horizontal"—which is to say that while Crashaw focused his attention upon the manger and dwelt on the relation of God directly perpendicular to man, Milton's concurrent interest was in the horizontal significance of "the rude manger," the way it affected the relations not between God and man but between God and men considered in their totality. The devotional Crashaw concentrated on the one specific moment in history that witnessed the union of God and man; but Milton chose to go much further, affirming that the birth of Jesus was of universal scope. Milton's far-ranging references to the idols and deities of Assyria and Egypt, Greece and Rome, were imperative; collectively, they argue that the Atonement was all-embracing in its effect, that the infant Jesus achieved not merely peace but, in Milton's words, "a *universall* Peace." Nor did Milton forget to observe that while mankind's bliss began upon the birth of the Savior, it will not be consummated until after the Second Coming, when the wakeful trump of doom shall thunder through the Deep

> With such a horrid clang
> As on mount *Sinai* rang
> While the red fire, and smouldring clouds out brake:
> The aged Earth agast
> With terrour of that blast,
> Shall from the surface to the center shake;
> When at the worlds last session,
> The dreadfull Judge in middle Air shall spread his throne.

> And then at last our bliss
> Full and perfet is.[289]

Many critics have commented on the *Nativity Ode,* but only once was it recognized that in this poem Milton "celebrates the meaning of the Incarnation not only in history but after history is over, an event both in and not within created nature, a peace both in and not within created time."[290]

The *Nativity Ode* was merely the dress rehearsal for the performance in *Paradise Lost.* In the epic we have the most successful attempt in poetry to fuse the essential aspects of the Christian view of history into a magnificent whole, partly because of the didactic spirit that pervades Michael's revelation of the future to Adam, partly because of the explicit affirmation that temporal events are a record of divine judgments, and above all because of the universalistic and Christocentric view of history.

The vision of the future in Books XI and XII, while a "convention" of epic poetry,[291] differs from all parallel visions fundamentally. Its purpose is clearly set forth in Michael's words to Adam:

> I am sent
> To shew thee what shall come in future dayes
> To thee and to thy Ofspring; good with bad
> Expect to hear, supernal Grace contending
> With sinfulness of Men; thereby to learn
> True patience, and to temper joy with fear
> And pious sorrow, equally enur'd
> By moderation either state to beare,
> Prosperous or adverse: so shalt thou lead
> Safest thy life, and best prepar'd endure
> Thy mortal passage when it comes.
> (XI, 356–366)

This statement—and indeed the entire vision—is an attempt to establish that history, as Christian writers had repeatedly maintained, is a teacher of the highest order. St. John Chrysostom,

in a sermon translated in 1542, had stated in prose precisely what Milton was to transmute into poetry:

> the holy scripture, as it were done in a large image & picture, hath peinted to the many lyuyes of the olde fathers, from Adam to the tyme of our maister Christ, that thereby thou mightest see the synnes and fau[l]tes of some, and also the rewardes of som other: and by bothe examples thou mightest be instructed.[202]

Milton's Adam is similarly informed that, as events unfold before him, he should observe "what reward / Awaits the good, the rest what punishment" (XI, 709–10). The two "cities" are, accordingly, clearly delineated: on the one hand, in the *civitas terrena,* are such persecutors as the Pharaoh and Nimrod; and on the other, in the *civitas Dei,* are the servants of God extending from Enoch and Noah, through Abraham and David and Solomon, to Jesus the Christ of God. With the Incarnation, the vision in *Paradise Lost* reaches its climactic point. Prior to the coming of Jesus, events are meaningful only insofar as they herald his way "by types / And shadowes";[203] and since his advent, all events are similarly related to him through a backward reference to the same historical fact of his Incarnation.

But I might seem to confuse the poem with the tradition. After all, the consensus appears to be that Milton had "no profound belief in the incarnate Christ," that his account of the Incarnation is "only an incident in the long history" of the world, that the redemption is "sketched, hastily and prosaically, in the Twelfth Book," and that the mere "hundred lines" allotted to it even there is "surely insufficient treatment."[204] Even so, I am persuaded that the God-man in *Paradise Lost,* far from being relatively unimportant to Milton, renders coherence to the entire epic. In this respect it must be remembered that, *chronologically,* the narrative proper begins with Raphael's account of the exaltation of the Son of God "on such day / As Heav'ns great Year brings forth," and ends with Michael's prophecy of the God-man's Second Advent to raise "New Heav'ns, new Earth, Ages of endless date, / Founded in Right-

eousness and Peace and Love."[295] Between these two all-important dates in the history of the universe, in all that is past and passing and to come, the Word is presented by Milton as acting continually as well as continuously. The first event in which he figures, the War in Heaven, is adequate warning of Milton's attitude; for while traditionally it was held that Lucifer was opposed and defeated by Michael,[296] Milton displaced the angel in favor of the Son of God. The role of the protagonist, once assigned to him, is maintained in all subsequent events: as Creator, he erects the universal edifice (VII, 210 ff.); as Savior, he volunteers to save man long before the Fall (III, 236 ff.); as Judge, he passes sentence on Adam and Eve (X, 97 ff.); through his Prevenient Grace, he is instrumental in their regeneration (XI, 2 ff.); as the incarnate Christ, he effects the salvation for which he had earlier volunteered (III, 236 ff., XII, 360 ff.); through his Comforter, he supports his faithful followers (XII, 485 ff.); and as the Supreme Judge, he is to return to terminate the history of the world.[297] All this is considerably more, I think, than just a "hundred lines." It is the epic itself.

Milton has emphasized two words in *Paradise Lost* by using them with considerable frequency. One is the word "all";[298] the other, "seed." The first of these occurs, with greater intensity than at any other single instance, in the Father's address in Book III immediately following the Son's offer to die for fallen man (italics supplied):

> *all* Power
> I give thee, reign for ever, and assume
> Thy Merits; under thee as Head Supream
> Thrones, Princedoms, Powers, Dominions I reduce:
> *All* knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide
> In Heav'n, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell;
> When thou attended gloriously from Heav'n
> Shalt in the Skie appeer, and from thee send
> The summoning Arch-Angels to proclaime
> Thy dread Tribunal: forthwith from *all* Windes
> The living, and forthwith the cited dead
> Of *all* past Ages to the general Doom

> Shall hast'n, such a peal shall rouse thir sleep.
> Then *all* thy Saints assembl'd, thou shalt judge
> Bad men and Angels . . .
> Then thou thy regal Scepter shalt lay by,
> For regal Scepter then no more shall need,
> God shall be *All* in *All*. But *all* ye Gods,
> Adore him, who to compass *all* this dies,
> Adore the Son, and honour him as mee.
> (III, 317–343)

The use of "all" in connection with the God-man is singularly appropriate since the word indicates that the Christ Jesus should ultimately be spoken of in the total terms befitting the axis of history.[299]

The word "seed" is also introduced in Book III, though there as yet it is mentioned only in passing ("be thyself Man . . . of Virgin seed" [284]). Later, however, in the sentence passed on Satan after the Fall of Man, the word explodes directly into history:

> Between Thee and the Woman I will put
> Enmitie, and between thine and her Seed;
> Her Seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel.
> (X, 179–181)

From this point to the end of *Paradise Lost,* the "seed" is mentioned constantly. The peace of mind that Adam and Eve finally regain is attributed directly to that "first gospel."[300] Adam's initial recollection of the promise that Eve's "Seed shall bruise / The Serpents head" (X, 1031–32), later leads to his acknowledgment of its peculiar role in their regeneration:

> peace returnd
> Home to my brest, and to my memorie
> His promise, that thy Seed shall bruise our Foe.
> (XI, 153–155)

By this time, Michael had already received his charge to reveal to Adam how the covenant would be "in the Womans seed renewd" (XI, 116). The result is the vision of the future which

unfolds before Adam largely in terms of the "seed"[801] and culminates in its identification with the incarnate Christ:

> The Womans seed, obscurely then foretold,
> Now amplier known thy Saviour and thy Lord.
> (XII, 543–544)

This is hardly an "incident" in *Paradise Lost*. As Milton had stated in the opening lines of the poem, his theme would be

> Mans First Disobedience, and the Fruit
> Of that Forbidd'n Tree, whose mortal tast
> Brought Death into the World, and all our woe,
> With loss of *Eden,* till one greater Man
> Restore us, and regain the blissful Seat.

At the other end of the poem, in Eve's last speech, this "greater Man" reappears as the "Seed":

> though all by mee is lost,
> Such favour I unworthie am voutsaft,
> By mee the Promisd Seed shall all restore.
> (XII, 621–623)

The last spoken word in *Paradise Lost* is, we observe, "restore." Thus the poem ends by facing across the ages to the translation of the "vision" into history.

Milton's concern in *Paradise Lost* is with Man, yet his "philosophy" is not anthropocentric. The epic's action progresses, at all times, *sub specie aeternitatis;* the "story" related is not so much a sentence in the history of the world as a parenthesis in eternity—a parenthesis that opens with Raphael's account of the "great Year" before the creation, and closes with Michael's vision of the end of time. Within and without this span, finally, stands the God-man—which in itself makes *Paradise Lost* Christocentric and secures for Milton a high position in the long line of descent from Eusebius to Augustine, thence to Jerome and Orosius, Isidore and Bede, Otto of Freising and Vincent of Beauvais, and finally to Dante and the Renaissance. As Christians, each was able "*ἀρχὴν κόσμου βλέπει, καὶ τέλος κόσμου,*

καὶ μεσότητα χρόνων''—to "see the origin of the world, and the end of the world, and the intervening time."[302]

X

Paradise Lost marks the termination of an era in the history of thought. By and large no poet, either in England or on the Continent, was thereafter concerned with the Christian view of history,[303] though some prose writers, as yet unwilling to sound retreat, persisted in elaborating the traditional theory. Of their number the most noteworthy is Bishop Jacques Bossuet (1627–1704), whose *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* appeared in Paris in 1681 and was translated into English five years later. Once again the starting point is the act of creation as related by Moses, "the most ancient of Historians, the most sublime of Philosophers, and the wisest of Legislators"; and once again the providential theory of history is expounded as fully as it used to be. As we might have expected, the *Discours* is firmly grounded on the reflections of St. Augustine, with whose works Bossuet was, we are told, "thoroughly saturated."[304] Accordingly, in Bossuet's demonstration of the way that "the Empires of the world have ministred to Religion," we seem to be listening once again to Augustine—and beyond him to the great prophets, particularly Isaiah:

> Empires have for the most part a necessary Connexion to the History of the People of God. God was served by the *Assyrians* and the *Babylonians* to chastise that People; by the *Persians,* to re-establish them; by *Alexander* and his first Successors, to protect them; by *Antiochus* the Illustrious and his Successors, to exercise them; by the *Romans,* to maintain their Liberty against the Kings of *Syria,* who made it their whole Business to destroy them. The *Jews* continued unto *Jesus Christ* under the Power of those very *Romans.* When they had ungratefully Crucified him, those same *Romans* lent their hands, without ever thinking that they did so, to the divine Vengeance, and rooted out that ungrateful People.[305]

We might also refer to the persistence of the traditional viewpoint in New England, before the end of the seventeenth cen-

tury most forcefully expounded by Cotton Mather in *Magnalia Christi Americana,*[306] and later, well into the eighteenth century and while Europeans were busily secularizing history, by Jonathan Edwards in *A History of the Work of Redemption.*[307]

The changes that were to become clearly evident in the eighteenth century were foreshadowed during the Restoration in Dryden's "opera," *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man* (1677). This was an attempt to re-write *Paradise Lost* with the permission, Dryden has told us, of Milton. The "opera" is not Christocentric for the simple reason that Dryden denied the God-man any active role in the affairs of mankind. The sentence of Adam and Eve is passed not by the Son of God, but by a mere angel, Raphael. The same angel reveals the future to Adam in a "vision," yet it is a vision which is limited—according to the stage directions—to "deaths of several sorts," with "a battle at land, and a Naval fight."[308] Milton's magnificent survey of the course of human events from the first Adam to the second is missing; so is the incarnate Christ. The angel does indeed promise that the race of man will "revive," though precisely how this will happen, he confesses, is "Far more than I can show, or you can see." Amazingly enough, however, Adam at once cries out,

> O goodness infinite! whose Heav'nly will
> Can so much good produce, from so much ill!

Eve, gallantly permitted by Dryden to see the "vision," adds,

> Ravish'd with Joy, I can but half repent,
> The sin which Heav'n makes happy in th' event.[309]

The "paradox of the Fortunate Fall," so naturally introduced in *Paradise Lost,* is in Dryden grossly out of place.

Thus foreshadowed, the turning point in historiography came in the eighteenth century. With Voltaire the dominant figure on the stage of Western Europe,[310] the ladder of tradition, its foundation already weakened by numerous assaults, now toppled and fell by the side. The area, at once cleared of the debris,

lay open to the sky with infinite promise that progress toward a golden age was inevitable. Whether that optimism was justified is not within the province of this study either to assert or to deny. Suffice it that since the eighteenth century the theories of history proposed have been remarkably varied and, of course, sometimes diametrically opposed to each other.[311] With due respect to the historians since the Renaissance, one recalls Milton's legions of dazzling angel forms, thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks in Vallombrosa, who thought to reason high of providence, foreknowledge, freewill, and fate. But the leaves, cut off, were withering; and the angels, fallen, found "no end, in wandring mazes lost."[312]

More than twelve centuries earlier, we recall, the metaphor of the circular mazes had been used by St. Augustine.

ABBREVIATIONS

ATR: Anglican Theological Review
BT: Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig, 1849 ff.)
CHR: Catholic Historical Review
CP: Classical Philology
CR: Contemporary Review
CSHB: Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1828 ff.)
EETS: Early English Text Society, "OS" ("Original Series," 1864 ff.), and "ES" ("Extra Series," 1867 ff.)
EHR: English Historical Review
ELH: Journal of English Literary History
E&S: Essays and Studies by members of the English Association
HLQ: Huntington Library Quarterly
HTR: Harvard Theological Review
HZ: Historische Zeitschrift
JHI: Journal of the History of Ideas
JPP: Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods
JR: Journal of Religion
JTS: Journal of Theological Studies
JWCI: Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
LCL: Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1912 ff.)
MGH: Monumenta Germaniae Historica ["Auctores antiquissimi" unless otherwise stated] (Berlin, 1877 ff.)
MH: Medievalia et Humanistica
MP: Modern Philology
MRS: Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies
NTS: New Testament Studies
PBA: Proceedings of the British Academy
PG: Patrologia Graeca, ed. J.–P. Migne (Paris, 1857 ff.)
PL: Patrologia Latina, ed. J.–P. Migne (Paris, 1844 ff.)
PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association
PR: Philosophical Review
RB: Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores ["Rolls Series"] (1858 ff.)
RES: Review of English Studies
RSR: Recherches de science religieuse
RT: Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale
SCBO: Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis (Oxford, 1900 ff.)
SP: Studies in Philology
SRen: Studies in the Renaissance
UCE: University of California Publications in English
ZK: Zeitschrift fiir Kirchengeschichte

NOTES

NOTES

[1] Note to *Queen Mab* (V, 1–6), in *Complete Poetical Works,* ed. George G. Woodberry (Boston and New York, 1894), I, 346–347. See further I. J. Kaplan, "The Symbolism of the Wind and the Leaves in Shelley's 'Ode to the West Wind,' " *PMLA,* LI (1936), 1069–79. Unless otherwise noted, the place of publication is London.

[2] *The Iliad,* VI, 146–149; trans. Alexander Pope. Chapman's version of the passage is singularly inadequate (ed. Allardyce Nicoll, *Chapman's Homer* [New York, 1956], I, 140).

[3] *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales,* XXIV, 26; trans. R. M. Gummere, *LCL* (1917). For the parallel statement in Ovid, see *Metamorphoses,* XV, 177 ff.

[4] Polybius, *Historia,* VI, ix, 10 (trans. W. R. Patton, *LCL* [1922–1927]); Virgil, *Ecloga IV,* l. 5; Marcus Aurelius, XI, 1 (trans. George Long, *Thoughts,* revised ed. [1889]).

[5] See J. B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians* (New York, 1909 [repr. 1958]), chap. VIII, "Views of the Ancients Concerning the Use of History"; and George W. Robinson, *Outlines of Historical Study* (New York, 1927), pp. 296–301, partially reprinted in Daniel Heinsius, *The Value of History,* trans. G. W. Robinson (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), pp. 29–50. For later views, see below, n. 196.

[6] R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 20–21. I have naturally made generous use of Collingwood's thesis throughout this paragraph.

[7] Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism* (1921), I, l–lxv and 42–47; Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore, 1935), esp. chap. I, V, and VI *passim;* Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History* (1939), IV, 23–33; Buddha Prakash, "The Hindu Philosophy of History," *JHI,* XVI (1955), 494–505; Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return,* trans. W. R. Trask (New York, 1954), esp. chap. II–III, and *Images and Symbols,* trans. Philip Mairet (1961), chap. III; Rammanohar Lohia, *Wheel of History* (Hyderabad, 1955), esp. lect. II; W. K. C. Guthrie, *In the Beginning* (1957), chap. IV; Joseph Campbell, ed., *Man and Time,* Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks, III (New York, 1957), notably the essays by Henry Corbin, "Cyclical Time in Mazdaism and Ismailism," pp. 115–172, and Mircea Eliade, "Time and Eternity in Indian Thought," pp. 173–200; Kostas Papaioannou, "Nature and History in the Greek Conception of the Cosmos," *Diogenes,* XXV (1959), 1–27; Alban G. Widgery, *Interpretations of History* (1961), chap. II–III.

[8] On the historical thought of Israel's immediate neighbors, see Albert T. E. Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography,* University of Missouri Studies, Social Science Series, III [1] (1916); Hans-Gustav Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* XLII (1934), 1–91, and XLIV (1938), 45–149; Burr C. Brundage, "The Birth of Clio: A Résumé and Interpretation of Ancient Near Eastern Historiography," in Hughes, below (n. 182), pp. 199–230; and the three studies by E. A. Speiser, George C. Cameron, and C. Bradford Welles on Mesopotamia, Persia, and the Hellenistic Orient (respectively), in *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East,* ed. R. C. Dentan, American Oriental Series, XXXVIII (New Haven, 1955), 35–97, 133–167.

[9] Among the studies in English concerned with the Hebrew and early Christian view of history, including its opposition to the Greco-Roman attitude, see John Baillie, *The Belief in Progress* (1950), chap. II; Roland H. Bainton, "Patristic Christianity," in Dentan, above (n. 8), pp. 215–236; Harry E. Barnes, *A Historical Writing* (Norman, Okla., 1937), chap. II–III; Nicolas Berdyaev, *The Meaning of History,* trans. George Reavy (1936), Chap. V–VI; S. G. F. Brandon, "The Jewish Philosophy of History," *History Today,* XI (1961), 155–164, and esp. *Time and Mankind* (1951), chap. IV–V, VIII; Panayotis Bratsiotis, "The Problem of History for the Christian," *The Student World,* XL (1947), 336–340; Emil Brunner, *The Mediator,* trans. Olive Wyon (1934), pp. 153 ff., 355 ff.; Rudolph Bultmann, *History and Eschatology*

(Edinburgh, 1957), chap. II–III; T. A. Burkill, "St Mark's Philosophy of History," *NTS,* III (1957), 142–148; Millar Burrows, "Ancient Israel," in Dentan, above (8), pp. 99–131; Herbert Butterfield, "God in History," in *Steps to Christian Understanding,* ed. R. J. W. Bevan (New York, 1958), pp. 105–121, and esp. *Christianity and History* (1954), the most "popular" general discussion; Shirley J. Case, *The Christian Philosophy of History* (Chicago, 1943), chap. II; J. V. Langmead Casserley, *Providence and History* (1940), esp. chap. VI; Anton-Hermann Chroust, "The Metaphysics of Time and History in Early Christian Thought," *New Scholasticism,* XIX (1945), 322–352, and below (n. 56), pp. 61–70; Charles N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture* (Oxford, 1940), chap. XII; Henry S. Coffin, *God Confronts Man in History* (New York, 1947); Morris R. Cohen, "Philosophies of Jewish History," *Jewish Social Studies,* I (1939), esp. 43–49; R. G. Collingwood, above (n. 6), pp. 14–52; Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke,* trans. Geoffrey Buswell (1960), pts. III–IV [the more appropriate title of the original: *Die Mitte der Zeit*]; Gilbert Cope, *Symbolism in the Bible and the Church* (1959), pp. 67 ff.; Benedetto Croce, *Theory and History of Historiography,* trans. Douglas Ainslie (1921), pt. II, chap. II–III; Oscar Cullmann, *Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History,* trans. Floyd V. Filson (Philadelphia, 1950; English ed., 1951), the most important single contribution to the subject; Salis Daiches, *Aspects of Judaism* (1928), chap. III; Jean Daniélou, "The Conception of History in the Christian Tradition," *On the Meaning of History,* Papers of the Ecumenical Institute, V (Geneva, n.d.), pp. 67–79 [reprinted in *JR,* XXX (1950), 171–179], and *The Lord of History,* trans. Nigel Abercrombie (1958); M. C. D'Arcy, *The Sense of History: Secular and Sacred* (1959) [Amer. ed., *The Meaning and Matter of History: A Christian View* (New York, 1959)]; Christopher Dawson, "The Christian View of History," *Blackfriars,* XXXII (1951), 312–327 [reprinted in *The Dynamics of World History,* ed. J. J. Mulloy (1957), pp. 233–250, together with other pertinent studies, pt. II, sect. I]; Eric Dinkler, "Earliest Christianity," in Dentan, above (n. 8), pp. 169–214; Charles H. Dodd, *History and the Gospel* (1932), chap. I; T. F. Driver, *The Sense of History in Greek and Shakespearean Drama* (1960), chap II–III; George W. Edwards, "The Hand of God in History," *ATR,* XXIX (1947), 145–152; Mircea Eliade, *The Myth* etc., above (n. 7), pp. 102–112; Jack Finegan, "Christianity and History," *Religion in Life,* XIII (1944), 358–367; Georges Florovsky, "Eschatology in the Patristic Age: An Introduction," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review,* II [1] (1956), 27–40; Erich Frank, *Philosophical Understanding and Religious Truth* (1945), chap. III; T. Francis Glasson, *His Appearing and His Kingdom* (1953), chap. XVII; Harvey H. Guthrie, Jr., *God and History in the Old Testament* (1961), chap. VI; E. R. Hardy, Jr., "Christianity and History," *Theology,* XL (1940), 14–25, 104–111; Edmond Jacob, *Theology of the Old Testament,* trans. A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock (1958), pt. II, chap. IV; E. E. Kellett, *Aspects of History* (1938), chap. II; Evgeny Lampert, *The Apocalypse of History* (1948), pt. I, chap. IV; George La Piana, "Theology of History," in *The Interpretation of History,* ed. Joseph R. Strayer (Princeton, 1943), pp. 149–186; Karl Löwith, "The Theological Background of the Philosophy of History," *Social Research,* XIII (1946) 51–80, and esp. *Meaning in History* (Chicago, 1949); John A. Mackay, "Historical and Suprahistorical Elements in Christianity," *JR,* XVII (1937), 1–8; John L. McKenzie, *The Two-Edged Sword* (1956), chap. IV; W. Manson, "The Son of Man and History," *Scottish Journal of Theology,* V (1952), 113–122; John Marsh, *The Fulness of Time* (1952), an important complement to Cullmann, above; E. L. Mascall, *Theology and History* (1962); R. L. P. Milburn, *Early Christian Interpretations of History* (1954), the finest account of the gradual formulation of the Christian views; Arthur W. Munk, *History and God* (New York, 1952), chap. II *passim;* Reinhold Niebuhr, *Faith and History* (New York, 1949), esp. chap. II–IV, VII–X; C. R. North, below (n. 24);

Charles H. Patterson, *The Philosophy of the Old Testament* (New York, 1953), pp. 526 ff.; Otto Piper, *God in History* (New York, 1939); W. Norman Pittenger, "The Earliest Philosophy of History," *ATR,* XXIX (1947), 238–241; Theo Preiss, "The Vision of History in the New Testament," *On the Meaning of History* (Geneva, n.d.), pp. 48–66 [reprinted in *JR,* XXX (1950), 157–170]; Gilles Quispel, "Time and History in Patristic Christianity," in Campbell, above (n. 7), pp. 85–107; Alan Richardson, *Christian Apologetics* (1947), chap. IV; Jack Riemer, "The Jewish View of History," *Judaism,* X (1961), 34–39; James H. Robinson, *The New History* (New York, 1912), chap. II (ii); E. Gordon Rupp, *Principalities and Powers* (1952); Eric C. Rust, *The Christian Understanding of History* (1947); George Santayana, *The Life of Reason,* revised ed. (1954), pt. III, chap. VI; R. B. Y. Scott, *The Relevance of the Prophets* (New York, 1944), chap. VII; Roger L. Shinn, "Augustinian and Cyclical Views of History," *ATR,* XXXI (1949), 133–141; James T. Shotwell, "Christianity and History," *JPP,* XVII (1920), 85–94, 113–120, 141–150, and *The History of History* (New York, 1939), Vol. I, pt. V; C. A. Simpson, "An Inquiry into the Biblical Theology of History," *JTS,* XII (1961), 1–13; Nathan Söderblom, *The Living God* (1933), chap. VIII–IX; William Temple, *Christianity as an Interpretation of History* (1945), the best summary statement of the Judaeo-Christian view; Paul Tillich, *The Interpretation of History,* trans. Elsa L. Talmey (1936), esp. pp. 242–265; J. S. Whale, below (n. 14), chap. II, and *Victor and Victim* (Cambridge, 1960), chap. I; A. G. Widgery, above (n. 7), chap. III–V; H. G. Wood, *Christianity and the Meaning of History* (New York and Cambridge, 1934); and finally a work of several hands: Vol. III of the Report on the Conference at Oxford (1937) on Church, Community, and State, *The Kingdom of God and History* (1938), with essays by Edwyn Bevan, Dawson, Dodd, Eugene Lyman, Tillich, H. D. Wendland, and Wood. See further below, n. 31, 36, and 59.

[10] Dan. 4:17. Unless otherwise indicated, I use the King James ("Authorized") Version of 1611, as re-edited for *The Reader's Bible* (1951).

[11] Deut. 5:26, Josh. 3:10, I Sam. 17:26, II Kings 19:4, Hos. 1:10; Jer. 10:10, etc.—as well as in the New Testament (Mt. 16:16, I Thes. 1:19, I Tim. 6:17).

[12] Ps. 44:1–3.

[13] C. H. Dodd, *History and the Gospel* (1938), p. 181, and Josef Pieper, *The End of Time,* trans. Michael Bullock (1954), p. 67; respectively.

[14] J. S. Whale, *Christian Doctrine* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 56.

[15] Judges, *passim;* the "cyclical" theory of punishment and redemption is outlined in Judg. 2:11–23.

[16] Jer. 51:7, Ez. 30:24, Is. 45:1.

[17] Is. 10:5–6. See further H. H. Rowley, *The Biblical Doctrine of Election* (1950), chap. V.

[18] Is. 10:12, Jer. 50:23.

[19] Alfred North Whitehead, *Adventures in Ideas* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 82.

[20] Is. 54:5.

[21] Amos 9:7.

[22] Is. 19:25.

[23] Is. 65:17.

[24] Christopher R. North, *The Old Testament Interpretation of History* (1946), chap. VII.

[25] Eccl. 1:4–7.

[26] See esp. Morris Jastrow, Jr., *A Gentle Cynic* (Philadelphia, 1919), and Johs. Pedersen, "Scepticisme israélite," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses,* X (1930), 317–370.

[27] The two fullest accounts: Joseph Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel,* trans.

W. F. Stinespring (1956), and Sigmund Mowinckel, *He that Cometh: The Messianic Hope in the Old Testament and in the Time of Jesus,* trans. G. W. Anderson (Oxford, 1959). Also pertinent are the numerous studies by Robert H. Charles.

[28] Ps. 74:12.

[29] Lk. 3:1–2.

[30] Gerald Heard, *Is God in History?* (New York, 1950), p. 222.

[31] Rom. 5:18. On Paul's attitude toward history (esp. Rom. 9–11), see C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* (n.d.), pp. 148–188; W. M. Ramsey, "St. Paul's Philosophy of History," *CR,* XCII (1907), 327–343; Robert M. Hawkins, "The Rejection of Israel: An Analysis of Romans IX–XI," *ATR,* XXIII (1941), 329–335; E. F. Scott, *Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (1947), pp. 54–65; Oliver C. Quick, *Doctrines of the Creed* (1951), pp. 304–306; and H. J. Schoeps, *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History,* trans. Harold Knight (1961), chap. VI.

[32] Lodowick Lloyd, *The Consent of Time* (1590), "To the Reader," and John Stoughton, *XI. Choice Sermons* (1640), II, 69; respectively.

[33] See *PL,* CCXIX, 243–247, "Index figurarum: figurae quae Christum praesignant"; and the discussions by Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: Die typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments in Neuen* (Gütersloh, 1939); A. G. Herbert, *The Throne of David* (1941); R. A. Markus, "Presuppositions of the Typological Approach to Scripture," *CQR,* CLVIII (1957), 442–451; G. W. H. Lampe and K. J. Woollcombe, *Essays on Typology* (1957); Jean Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers,* trans. Wulstan Hibberd (1960). The rich tradition involving Samson as a "type" of Christ is set forth by F. Michael Krouse, *Milton's Samson and the Christian Tradition* (Princeton, 1949). The relevance of typology to literature is variously demonstrated by Rosemary Woolf, "The Effect of Typology on the English Mediaeval Plays of Abraham and Isaac," *Speculum,* XXXII (1957), 805–825; Rosemond Tuve, *A Reading of George Herbert* (Chicago, 1952); Northrop Frye, "The Typology of *Paradise Regained,*" *MP,* LIII (1956), 227–238; William G. Madsen, "Earth the Shadow of Heaven: Typological Symbolism in *Paradise Lost,*" *PMLA,* LXXV (1960), 519–526.

[34] *Practique Theories* (1629), p. 23.

[35] I Pet. 1:20, Col. 1:16.

[36] I Cor. 15:28. See further Rudolph Bultmann, "History and Eschatology in the New Testament," *NTS,* I (1954), 5–16; Werner G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfilment: The Eschatological Message of Jesus,* trans. D. M. Barton (1957); H. M. Féret, *The Apocalypse of St. John,* trans. Elizabethe Corathiel (1958), chap. IV, "The Christian View of History according to the Apocalypse." On Paul's pronounced eschatological thinking, see the numerous studies cited by E. Earle Ellis, "II Corinthians V.1–10 in Pauline Eschatology," *NTS,* VI (1960), 211–224.

[37] Rev. 4:8, Hebr. 13:8.

[38] Col. 3:11, Eph. 2:19.

[39] Dated 3761 B.C. Mohammedans date events from *anno hegirae* 1, the year of Mohammed's flight from Mecca to Medina (A.D. 622). No other major religion refers events to a fixed point; as for other civilizations, I am aware of only one exception to this rule, the ancient Mayas.

[40] *The Rock,* VII; in *Collected Poems* (1936), p. 199.

[41] C. A. Patrides, "Renaissance Interpretations of Jacob's Ladder," *Theologische Zeitschrift,* XVIII (1962), 411–418.

[42] Adam F. Findlay, *Byways in Early Christian Literature* (Edinburgh, 1923), pp. 143 ff.

[43] *Dialogus cum Tryphone,* I, 5; trans. A. Lukyn Williams (1930).

[44] *Contra Celsum,* IV, 67–68; V, 20–21; etc.

[45] *Ad Autolycum libri tres,* III, 24–28, in *PG,* VI, 1023–1168; trans. J. A. Giles, *The Writings of the Early Christians* (1857), pp. 119–192. Theophilus also refers (II, 30) to another work he had written "concerning history," but this has been lost. See further Otto Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (Freiburg, 1913), I, 310, and Robert M. Grant, "Theophilus of Antioch to Autolycus," *HTR,* XL (1947), 227–256.

[46] *Liber generationis ab Adam,* in *Chronicon Paschale, CSHB,* IX (ii), 96–111; Theodor Mommsen, "Uber den Chronographen vom J.354," *Abhandlungen der königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (Leipzig, 1850), II, 549–668. Hippolytus' chronicle is discussed by Christopher Wordsworth, *St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome,* 2nd ed. (1880), pp. 218–219, and J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (1890), II [i], 399.

[47] M. J. Routh, ed., *Reliquiae Sacrae* (Oxford, 1846), II, 238–309; trans. in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1886), VI, 125–140. See the discussion by Heinrich Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die Byzantinische Chronographie* (Leipzig, 1880), I, 52 ff.

[48] Ephorus' history survives in fragments, collected in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum,* ed. Carl and Theodore Müller (Paris, 1841), I, 234–277; see further Godfrey L. Barber, *The Historian Ephorus* (Cambridge, 1935), esp. chap. II.

[49] Ed. and trans., H. St. John Thackeray and Ralph Marcus, *LCL* (1930 ff.), 9 vols., in progress; see further H. St. John Thackeray, *Josephus: The Man and the Historian* (New York, 1929), chap. III, and F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *Josephus and the Jews* (1930), chap. XIV–XV.

[50] The Armenian text, with a Latin translation and the extant Greek fragments, has been edited by J. B. Aucher, *Eusebii Pamphili Chronicon Bipartitum* (Venice, 1818), 2 vols. Another Latin version, again including the Greek fragments, is the *Evsebi Chronicorvm libri dvo,* ed. Alfred Schoene, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1962), 2 vols.

[51] *Evsebii Pamphili Chronici Canones,* ed. John K. Fotheringham (1923); discussed by Alfred Schoene, *Die Weltchronik des Eusebius in ihrer Bearbeitung durch Hieronymus* (Berlin, 1900); C. H. Turner, "The Early Episcopal Lists: I. Eusebius of Caesarea and his *Chronicle,*" *JTS,* I (1900), 184 ff.; James T. Shotwell, "Christianity and History: III. Chronology and Church History," *JPP,* XVII (1920), 141–150; J. Stevenson, *Studies in Eusebius* (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 35 ff.; F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *Eusebius Pamphili* (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 142 ff.; and D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea* (1960), chap. VIII.

[52] Eusebius' debt to Julius Africanus is set forth by Gelzer, above (n. 47), II, 23–107.

[53] The text, trans. Kirsopp Lake and J. E. L. Oulton, is in *LCL* (1926–1932), 2 vols. One of the finest accounts of Eusebius is by Milburn, above (n. 9), chap. IV; but see also Roy J. Deferrari, "Eusebius," in *Church Historians,* ed. Peter Guilday (New York, 1926), pp. 3–29; Norman H. Baynes, "Eusebius and the Christian Empire," *Byzantine Studies* (1955), chap. IX; and of the studies cited above (n. 51), esp. Wallace-Hadrill, chap. IX, "The Purpose of God and Human History." For further references, see the latter (pp. 209–214), and Johannes Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht, 1960), III, 309–345.

[54] *Ibid.,* I, ii, 3.

[55] *Ibid.,* X, ix, 2.

[56] Anton-Herman Chroust, "The Relation of Religion to History in Early Christian Thought," *The Thomist,* XVIII (1955), 62.

[57] See Berthold Altaner, *Patrology,* trans. H. C. Graef (Freiburg, 1960), pp. 272 ff.

[58] Ed. Eduard Schwartz and Theodor Mommsen, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte,* II: *Eusebius Werke* (Leipzig, 1902–1909), 3 vols. See J. E. L. Oulton, "Rufinus' Translation of the Church History of Eusebius," *JTS,* XXX (1928–1929), 150–174; Heinrich Hoppe, "Rufin als Uebersetzer," in *Studi*

dedicati alla memoria di Paolo Ubaldi, ed. Agostino Gemelli (Milan, 1937), pp. 133–150; Francis X. Murphy, *Rufinus of Aquileia* (Washington, D.C., 1945), pp. 158–175; Sister M. Monica Wagner, *Rufinus, the Translator* (Washington, D.C., 1945); and Maurice Villain, "Rufin d'Aquilée et l'Histoire Ecclésiastique," *RSR,* XXXIII (1946), 164–210.

[59] On Augustine, and particularly his "philosophy" of history, see the studies by Giuseppe Amari, *Il Concetto di Storia in Sant'Agostino* (Rome, 1950); Norman H. Baynes, *The Political Ideas of St. Augustine's "De Civitate Dei"* (1936); W. ven Boer, "Augustinus en de Geschiedenis," *Tussen Kade en Schip* (The Hague, 1957), pp. 289–306; Edgar H. Brookes, *The City of God and the Politics of Crisis* (1960); John H. S. Burleigh, *The City of God: A Study of St. Augustine's Philosophy* (1949); Jules Chaix-Ruy, *Saint Augustin: temps et histoire* (Paris, 1956), esp. pt. II; Cochrane, above (n. 9); Christopher Dawson, "St. Augustine and his Age: The City of God," in *A Monument to St. Augustine,* by several hands (1930), pp. 43–77 [reprinted in *Enquiries into Religion and Culture* (1933), pp. 223–258, and *The Dynamics of World History* (1957), pp. 294–325]; Roy J. Deferrari and M. Jerome Keeler, "St. Augustine's *City of God:* Its Plan and Development," *American Journal of Philology,* L (1929), 109–137; Alois Dempf, *Sacrum Imperium* (Munich and Berlin, 1929), pt. II, chap. III; Sherwood Eddy, *God in History* (New York, 1947), pp. 105–110; José Ferrater Mora, "San Agustín o la Visión Cristiana," *Cuatro Visiones de la Historia Universal,* 2nd ed. (Buenos Aires, 1955), pp. 31–61; John N. Figgis, *The Political Aspects of St. Augustine's "City of God"* (1921), esp. chap. II; Cataldo Gallo, *La filosofia della storia nel "De Civitate Dei"* (Bari, n.d.); P. Gerosa, "S. Agostino e l'Imperialismo Romano," in *Miscellanea agostiniana* (Rome, 1931), II, 977–1040; William A. Green, *Augustine on the Teaching of History,* University of California Publications in Classical Philology, XII, 18 (1944); F. J. C. Hearnshaw and A. J. Carlyle, "St. Augustine and the City of God," in *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Mediaeval Thinkers,* ed. Hearnshaw (1923), pp. 34–52; Otto Herding, "Augustin," in Stadelmann, below (n. 147), pp. 57–75; Ernst Hoffmann, below (n. 62), pp. 173–190; Ernst Lewalter, "Eschatologie und Weltgeschichte in der Gedankenwelt Augustins," *ZK,* LIII (1934), 1–51; Walter von Loewenich, *Von Augustin zu Luther* (Witten, 1959), pp. 44–74; Karl Löwith, *Meaning in History* (Chicago, 1949), chap. IV; Millburn, above (n. 7), pp. 74–88; Theodor E. Mommsen, "St. Augustine and the Christian Idea of Progress: The Background of *The City of God,*" *JHI,* XII (1951), 346–374 [reprinted in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies,* ed. Eugene F. Rice, Jr. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1959), chap. XII]; Albert Niemann, *Augustines Geschichtsphilosophie* (Greifswald, 1895); Edward M. Pickman, *The Mind of Latin Christendom* (1937), pp. 118–133; Joseph Reinkens, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie des heiligen Augustinus* (Schaffhausen, 1866); Hermann Reuter, *Augustinische Studien* (Gotha, 1887), chap. III; Joseph Rickaby, *St. Augustine's "City of God": A View of the Contents* (1925); Giuseppe Ruotolo, *La filosofia della storia e la Città di Dio,* 2nd ed. (Rome, 1950); Ferdinand Schevill, *Six Historians* (Chicago, 1956), pp. 33–60; Otto Schilling, *Die Staats- und Soziallehre des hl. Augustinus* (Freiburg, 1910); Heinrich Scholz, *Glaube und Unglaube in der Weltgeschichte: Ein Kommentar zu Augustins De Civitate Dei* (Leipzig, 1911); Georg Seyrich, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie Augustins* (Chemnitz, 1891); Roger L. Shinn, *Christianity and the Problem of History* (New York, 1953), chap. II; James T. Shotwell, *The History of History* (New York, 1939), Vol. I, chap. XXVIII; Georges Simard, "Philosophie et théologie de l'histoire d'après *La Cité de Dieu,*" *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa,* VII (1937), 441–448; Johannes Thyssen, *Geschichte der Geschichtsphilosophie,* 2nd ed. (Bonn, 1954), pp. 10–16; Ernst Troeltsch, *Augustin, die christliche Antike und das Mittelalter im Anschluss an die Schrift "De Civitate Dei"* (Munich and Berlin, 1915); Marthinus

Versfeld, *A Guide to "The City of God"* (1958), chap. VII–VIII; Alois Wachtel, *Beiträge zur Geschichtstheologie des Aurelius Augustinus* (Bonn, 1960).

[60] Ed. J. E. C. Welldon (1924), 2 vols.; trans. John Healey (1610), revised by R. V. G. Tasker (1942), 2 vols. The *LCL* ed., in 7 vols., is currently in progress.

[61] *De civ. Dei,* XIV, 28; the quoted Scriptural verses are Ps. 3:3 and 18:1, respectively. The actual division between the two "cities" was also proposed earlier by Tertullian and Tyconius (Dawson, *The Dynamics* etc., above [n. 59], pp. 298 ff., 308 ff.).

[62] Ernst Hoffmann, "Platonism in Augustine's Philosophy of History," trans. D. R. Cousin, in *Philosophy and History,* ed. Raymond Klibansky and H. J. Paton (Oxford, 1936), p. 174.

[63] This highly influential concept is set forth capitally in *De civ. Dei,* XXII, 30, and *De Genesi contra Manichaeos,* I, 23. Numerous references to its use both before and after Augustine are cited by Charles W. Jones, ed., *Bedae Opera de Temporibus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), p. 345, and W. A. Green, above (n. 59), pp. 322 ff. For discussions, see Hugo Hertzberg, "Über die Chroniken des Isidorus von Sevilla," *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte,* XV (1875), esp. pp. 327 ff., 349 ff.; Franz Hipler, *Die christliche Geschichts-Auffasung* (Cologne, 1884), chap. I–II *passim;* Dempf, above (n. 59), pp. 117 ff.; Jones, below (n. 83), pp. 23 ff.; Levison, below (n. 89), pp. 115 ff.; cf. Jean Daniélou, "La typologie de la semaine au IV^e^ siècle," *RSR,* XXXV (1948), 382–411.

[64] See *De civ. Dei,* esp. XII, 13–14, 17–20.

[65] *Ibid.,* XII, 13; the same metaphor is used in XII, 17. The Biblical reference is Ps. 12:8 [9], but in the Vulgate: "in circuitu impii ambulant"; the King James version reads: "The wicked walk on every side."

[66] *Ibid.,* IV, 33. Cf. above, n. 17–19.

[67] I have cited over thirty studies of the Christian "philosophy" of time and eternity in "The Renaissance View of Time: A Bibliographical Note," *Notes and Queries,* X (1963), 408–410.

[68] The best short account of Jerome in English is by Edward K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), chap. IV.

[69] See above, n. 51. The work is discussed by Francis X. Murphy, "St. Jerome as an Historian," in *A Monument to St. Jerome* (New York, 1952), pp. 113–141.

[70] Hydatius Lemicensis, Marcellinus Comes, Victor Tunnunensis, Joannes Biclarensis, *et al.,* ed. Theodor Mommsen, *MGH, XI* [*Chronica Minora,* II] (1894).

[71] Letter CLXVI, 2; trans. Wilfrid Parsons, *Saint Augustine: Letters* (New York, 1955), IV, 7.

[72] *Historiarum adversum paganos libri vii,* ed. Carl Zangemeister, *BT* (1889), trans. Irving W. Raymond (New York, 1936).

[73] Theodor E. Mommsen, "Orosius and Augustine," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1959), chap. XIV. See further Pierre de Labriolle, *History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius,* trans. Herbert Wilson (1924), pp. 434 ff.; William M. T. Gimble, "Orosius," in Guilday, above (n. 53), pp. 30–70; Eleanor S. Duckett, *Latin Writers of the Fifth Century* (New York, 1930), pp. 158 ff.; M. L. W. Laistner, "Some Reflections on Latin Historical Writing in the Fifth Century," *CP,* XXXV (1940), 241–258.

[74] *Op. cit.,* II, 3.

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] *Paradiso,* X, 119.

[77] *PL,* XX, 95–460; trans. Alexander Roberts, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* 2nd Series (Oxford, 1894), XI, 71–122. On Sulpicius, see Terrot R. Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge, 1901), chap. XII; and of the studies cited above (n. 73), de Labriolle, pp. 380 ff., and Duckett, pp. 51 ff.

[78] *Apud* Edward Leigh, *Fœlix Consortium* (1663), p. 324.

[79] *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* ed. J. B. Bury (1897), III, 266n and 153n, respectively.

[80] *PL,* LI, 535–608.

[81] Salvianus Massiliensis, *MGH,* I, 1–108; trans. Eva M. Sanford (New York, 1930). See the study by Michele Pellegrino, *Salviano di Marsiglia* (Rome, 1940), with bibliography.

[82] *Ibid.,* II, 1.

[83] Franz Rühl, *Chronologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Berlin, 1897); Bruno Krusch, "Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* Philosophisch-historische Klasse (1937), No. 8, 59–87; and esp. Reginald L. Poole: *Medieval Reckonings of Time* (1918), pp. 39–40; "The Earliest Use of the Easter Cycle of Dionysius," *EHR,* XXXIII (1918), 57–62, 210–213 [reprinted in *Studies in Chronology and History,* ed. A. L. Poole (Oxford, 1934), chap. II]; and *Chronicles and Annals* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 16–26. Poole's fundamental studies have been amended by Charles W. Jones, "The Victorian and Dionysiac Paschal Tables in the West," *Speculum,* IX (1934), esp. 413 ff., and *Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1947), chap. III and Appendix. See further George Ogg, "Hippolytus and the Introduction of the Christian Era," *Vigilae Christianae, XVI* (1962), 2–18.

[84] *Chronica, MGH,* XI (1894), 120–161.

[85] *PL,* LXIX, 879–1214; discussed by M. L. W. Laistner, "The Value and Influence of Cassiodorus' Ecclesiastical History," *HTR,* XLI (1948), 51–67. For more general accounts, see G. C. Minasi, *M. A. Cassiodoro* (Milan, 1895); Richard W. Church, "Cassiodorus," in *Miscellaneous Essays* (1888), pp. 155–204; A. van de Vyver, "Cassiodore et son Œuvre," *Speculum,* VI (1931), 244–292; E. S. Duckett, *The Gateway to the Middle Ages* (New York, 1938), chap. II.

[86] Andreas Du Chesne, ed., *Historiæ Francorum Scriptores coætanei* (Paris, 1636), I, 251–459; more readily accessible in *PL,* LXXI, 161–572; trans. O. M. Dalton (Oxford, 1927).

[87] Ed. Theodor Mommsen, *MGH,* XI (1894), 391–494.

[88] Ed. W. M. Lindsay, *SCBO* (1911), 2 vols.; the chronicle is in V, xxxix ("De descriptione temporvm"). See Hugo Hertzberg, *Die Historien und Chroniken des Isidorus von Sevilla* (Göttingen, 1894), esp. pp. 43 ff.; Manitius, below (n. 93), I, 52–70; Ernest Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages,* Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, XLVIII (New York, 1912), pp. 1–274; Paul Séjourné, *Le dernier Père de l Église* (Paris, 1929). For the various editions, consult Robert B. Brown, *The Printed Works of Isidore of Seville* (Lexington, 1949).

[89] Ed. Charles Plummer (Oxford, 1896), 2 vols.; discussed by Jones, *Saints' Lives* etc., above (n. 83), chap. V. The standard accounts of Bede's historiography are by Wilhelm Levison, "Bede as Historian," in *Bede: His Life, Times, and Writings,* ed. A. H. Thompson (Oxford, 1935), chap. V, and Charles W. Jones, "Bede as Early Medieval Historian," *MH,* IV (1946), 26–36.

[90] Ed. C. W. Jones (Cambridge, Mass., 1943).

[91] Levison, above (n. 89), p. 122.

[92] The seven concluding chapters of *De temporibus* (XVI–XXII) comprise a brief chronicle from Adam to the date of composition (A.D. 703). *De temporum ratione* has as its chapter LXVI ("Chronicon sive de sex huius saeculi aetatibus") an extensive chronicle of the same Six Ages extending to the date of composition (A.D. 725); mediaeval scribes often copied this chapter as a separate work. Thereafter, chap. LXVII to LXX consider the "eschata" of the Sixth Age; and chap. LXXI is concerned with the Seventh Age (the dead saints in their current state) and an Eighth Age

(eternity after the end of the world). See *MGH,* XIII [Chronica Minora, III], (1898), 247–327.

[93] In mediæval historiography, see the *Early Chroniclers of Europe* by Ugo Balzani on Italy, Gustave Masson on France, James Gairdner on England (1883), 3 vols.; the fundamental survey by Maximilianus Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1911–1931), 3 vols.; T. F. Tout, "The Study of Mediæval Chronicles," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* VI (1921–1922), 414–438 [reprinted in his *Collected Papers* (Manchester, 1934), III, 1–25]; Silvio Vismara, *Il concetto della storia nel pensiero scolastico* (Milan, 1924); C. H. Haskins, below (n. 119), chap. VIII; Floyd S. Lear, "The Mediæval Attitude Toward History," *The Rice Institute Pamphlet,* XX (1933), 156–177; Herbert Grundmann, "Die Grundzüge der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsanschauungen," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte,* XXIV (1934), 326–336; Ludovico D. Macnab, *El concepto escolastico de la historia* (Buenos Aires, 1940); Barnes, above (n. 9), chap. IV; Etienne Gilson, *The Spirit of Mediæval Philosophy,* trans. A. H. C. Downes (New York, 1940), chap. XIX; Ricardo Orta Nadal, "La conception cristiana de la historia en la Edad Media," *Anales de Historia Antigua y Medieval* (Buenos Aires, 1950), pp. 85–105; Thyssen, above (n. 59), pp. 16 ff.; *et al.* On the historical works that were particularly popular during the Middle Ages, see James S. Beddie, "Libraries in the Twelfth Century: Their Catalogues and Contents," in *Haskins Anniversary Essays* (Boston and New York, 1929), pp. 1–23. The nearly total ignorance of the historians of Greece and Rome is admirably documented by Eva M. Sanford, "The Study of Ancient History in the Middle Ages," *JHI,* V (1944), 21–43.

[94] *Vita Karoli Imperatoris,* XXIV, 2.

[95] The celebrated *testimonium Flavianum* is in *Antiquitates Judaicae,* XVIII, iii, 3. On this controversial statement, see below, n. 234.

[96] Sigebertus Gemblacensis, *PL,* CLX, 57–546.

[97] Hugo Floriacensis, *Chronicon,* ed. Bernhard Rottendorff (Westphalia, 1638).

[98] Regino Prumiensis, *Chronicon, PL,* CXXXII, 15–150; Hugo Flaviniacensis, *Chronicon, PL,* CLIV, 21–404; Sicardus Cremonensis, *Chronicon, PL,* CCXIII, 441–540.

[99] For which see August Potthast, *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi,* 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1896), pp. 223–318 *passim.*

[100] Freculphus Lexoviensis, *Chronicon, PL,* CVI, 917–1258; Ado Viennensis, *Chronicon, PL,* CXXIII, 23–138.

[101] Louis M. Myers, "Universal History in the Twelfth Century," *HLQ,* V (1942), 162. Cf. below, n. 119.

[102] Hermannus Contractus, *Chronicon,* in *Chronica,* ed. Joannes Sichardus (Basle, 1579), fols. 185v–223; Marianus Scotus, *Chronicon,* in *Rervm Germanicarvm Scriptores,* ed. Joannes Pistorius (Regensburg, 1726), I, 448–656; Lambertus Hersfeldensis, *Chronicon,* in *Historicum opus,* ed. Simon Schardius (Basle, 1574), I, 694–815.

[103] Honorius Augustodunensis, *PL,* CLXXII, 115–186 (the *Imago*) and 187–196 (the *Summa,* but only the section A.D. 726–1133); Petrus Comestor, *PL,* CXCVIII, 1055–1722; Godefridus Viterbiensis, *Pantheon, sive vniuersitatis libri, qui chronici appelantur, XX* (Basle, 1559); *Die Kaiserchronik, MGH* ["Scriptorvm qvi vernacvla lingva vsi svnt"], I (1892); Ekkehardus Uraugiensis, *PL,* CLIV, 498–1058.

[104] Robertus Altissiodorensis, *Chronologia seriem temporvm* (Utrecht, 1608); Lucas Tudensis ["El Tudense"], *Chronicon,* in *Hispaniæ illvstratæ sev vrbivm rervmqve hispanicarvm* etc., ed. Andreas Schottus (Frankfurt, 1608), IV, 1–116.

[105] *Li Livres dou Tresor,* ed. Francis J. Carmody, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, XXII (1948), 32–81; discussed by F. J. Carmody in "Latin Sources of Brunetto Latini's World History," *Speculum,* XI (1936), 359–370.

[106] Ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1906), Vol. I.

[107] *MGH* ["Scriptorvm qvi vernacvla lingva vsi svnt"], II (1877), 65–384.

[108] Jansen Enikel, Weltchronik, *ibid.*, III (1900), 1–596; Rudolf vom Ems, *Weltchronik,* ed. Gustav Ehrismann (Berlin, 1915).

[109] Ed. Adolf Hofmeister (Hannover and Leipzig, 1912); trans. Charles C. Mierow (New York, 1928). See the estimates by Justus Hashagen, *Otto von Freising als Geschichtsphilosoph und Kirchenpolitiker* (Dresden, 1900); Joseph Schmidlin, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie und Kirchenpolitische Weltanschauung Ottos von Freising* (Freiburg, 1906); Adolf Hofmeister, "Studien über Otto von Freising," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde,* XXXVII (1912), 99–161, 633–768; Felix Fellner, "The *Two Cities* of Otto of Freising and its Influence on the Catholic Philosophy of History," *CHR,* XX (1934–1935), 154–174 [reprinted in *The Catholic Philosophy of History,* ed. Peter Guilday (New York, 1936), pp. 45–82]; Paolo Brezzi, "Ottone di Frisinga," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano,* LIV (1939), 129–328, with extensive bibliography; Werner Kaegi, *Grundformen der Geschichtschreibung seit dem Mittelalter* (Utrecht, 1947), lect. I.

[110] G. G. Coulton, *From St. Francis to Dante,* 2nd ed. (1907), pp. 55 ff.

[111] *Chronica,* II, 13, and VII, 9, respectively. See further the comprehensive survey by A. A. Vasiliev, "Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: West and East," *Byzantion,* XVI (1942–1943), 462–502.

[112] Of the ever-increasing studies of Joachim and the Joachite movement available in English, see Henry C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition* (1888), Vol. III, chap. I; Ernest Renan, *Leaders of Christian and Anti-Christian Thought,* trans. W. M. Thomson (n.d.), pp. 129–205; G. E. Troutbeck, "A Forerunner of St. Francis of Assisi," *Nineteenth Century and After,* LII (1902), 140–152; Coulton, above (n. 110), chap. XIII, and *Five Centuries of Religion* (Cambridge, 1927), II, 114–123; Anon., "The Prophet of Calabria," *Church Quarterly Review,* LXV (1907–1908), 17–48; Edmund G. Gardner, "Joachim of Flora and the Everlasting Gospel," in *Franciscan Essays* (Aberdeen, 1912), pp. 50–70; Henry Bett, *Joachim of Flora* (1931); George La Piana, "Joachim of Flora: A Critical Survey," *Speculum,* VII (1932), 257–282; Löwith, above (n. 59), chap. VIII and app. I; Morton W. Bloomfield, "Joachim of Flora: A Critical Survey," *Traditio,* XIII (1957), 249–311; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (1957), chap. V; and eight studies by Marjorie E. Reeves: "The *Liber Figurarum* of Joachim of Fiore," *MRS,* II (1950), 57–81; "The Abbott Joachim's Disciples and the Cistercian Order," *Sophia,* XIX (1951), 355–371; "The Seven Seals in the Writings of Joachim of Fiore," *RT,* XXI (1954), 211–231; (with B. Hirsch-Reich) "The *Figurae* of Joachim of Fiore," *MRS,* III (1954), 170–199; (with M. W. Bloomfield) "The Penetration of Joachism into Northern Europe," *Speculum,* XXIX (1954), 772–793; "The *Arbores* of Joachim of Fiore," *Papers of the British School at Rome,* XXIV (1956), 124–136; "Joachimist Influences on the Idea of a Last World Emperor," *Traditio,* XVII (1961), 323–370; and "Joachimist Expectations in the Order of Augustinian Hermits," *RT,* XXV (1958), 111–141. Continental studies are cited by Eugène Anitchkof, *Joachim de Flore et les milieux courtois* (Rome, 1931), pp. ix–xxiii; Herbert Grundmann, *Neue Forschungen über Joachim von Fiore* (Marburg, 1950); Francesco Russo, *Bibliographia Gioachimita* (Florence, 1954); and Reeves, *passim.*

[113] For the rise and development of this notion, see below, n. 170.

[114] *Paradiso,* XII, 139–141: "there shineth at my side the Calabrian abbott Joachim, dowed with prophetic spirit" (trans. Philip H. Wicksteed). On Joachim's influence on Dante, see Leone Tondelli, *Il Libro delle Figure dell'abate Gioachino da Fiore* (Turin, 1939), I, 185–334, and the studies cited by Bloomfield, above (n. 112), pp. 310 f.

[115] The *Speculum naturale,* the *Speculum doctrinale,* and the *Speculum historiale;*

a fourth part, the *Speculum morale,* was compiled by another writer. Pertinent details on the entire work are given by B. L. Ullman, "A Project for a New Edition of Vincent of Beauvais," *Speculum,* VIII (1953), 312–326. The edition I consulted: *Bibliotheca mvndi. sev specvli maioris Vincentii . . . Bellovacensis . . . Tomvs qvartvs, qvi specvlvm historiale inscribitvr: in quo vniuersa totius orbis, omniumque populorum ab orbe condito vsque ad auctoris tempus historia continetur, pulcherrimum actionum ciuilium & ecclessiasticarum theatrvm* (Douai, 1624).

[116] "Epilogvs specvli historialis: continens tractatvm de ultimis temporis," *ibid.,* pp. 1323–1332.

[117] V. H. Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris* (Glasgow, 1944), p. 12.

[118] I have in mind Gervase of Canterbury's distinction between histories and annals, in *Historical Works,* ed. William Stubbs, *RB* (1879), I, 87–88; as expounded by V. H. Galbraith, *Historical Research in Medieval England* (1951), p. 2.

[119] Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), p. 237: "The universal chronicle is a conspicuous feature of historical writing in the twelfth century."

[120] Despite the East's limited knowledge of Augustine (Berthold Altaner, "Augustinus in der griechischen Kirche bis auf Photius," *Historisches Jahrbuch,* LXXI [1951], 37–76).

[121] On Byzantine historiography, see Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur,* 2nd. ed. (Munich, 1897), pp. 319–408; Ferdinand Hirsch, *Byzantinische Studien* (Leipzig, 1876), esp. chap. I, VI; Giovanni Montelatici, *Storia della letteratura bizantina* (Milan, 1916), esp. pp. 149 ff., 233 ff.; Constantinos I. Amantos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους* (Athens, 1947), II, 374 ff.; F. H. Marshall, "Byzantine Literature," in *Byzantium,* ed. N. H. Baynes and H. St. L. B. Moss (Oxford, 1948), pp. 234 ff.; Louis Bréhier, *Le monde byzantine* (Paris, 1950), III, 346 ff.; G. Georgiades Arnakis, "The Eastern Imperial Tradition," in *The Development of Historiography,* ed. M. A. Fitzsimmons *et al.* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1954), chap. VI. Further references are cited in the comprehensive bibliography by A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, 1958), II, 735–799.

[122] For references to the few extant fragments of this work and to pertinent studies, see Otto Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* (Freiburg, 1924), IV, 135–137.

[123] Theodoros Prodromos, *Epist. II, PG,* CXXXIII, 1246.

[124] Hesychios, ed. Carl Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum* (Paris, 1851), IV, 145–177; Malalas, ed. Ludwig Dindorf, *CSHB,* VIII; *Chronicon Paschale, PG,* XCII, 67–1160; Synkellos, ed. Carl Wilhelm Dindorf, *CSHB,* VII; Homologetes, ed. Johann Classen, *CSHB,* XXVI; Monachos, *PG,* CX; Metaphrastes (?), *PG,* CIX, 663–822; Cedrenos, *PG,* CXXI and CXXII, 9–368; Zonaras, ed. Ludwig Dindorf, *BT* (1868–1871), 4 vols.; Glykas, *PG,* CLVIII, 1–624; Manasses, *PG,* CXXVII, 219–472.

[125] For the situation in Bulgaria, for example, see Francis Dvornik, *The Slavs: Their Early History and Civilization* (Boston, 1956), pp. 181 ff.; on Croatia: Michael B. Petrovich, "Dalmatian Historiography in the Age of Humanism," *MH,* XII (1958), 84–103; on Hungary: Josef Trostler, "Die Anfänge der ungarischen Geschichtsprosa," in *Denkschrift für Jakob Bleyer* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1934), pp. 116–131, and Bálint Hóman, "La première période de l'historiographie hongroise," *Revue des études hongroises et finno-ougriennes,* III (1925), 125–164; etc.

[126] A. N. Puipin, *Istoriya russkoi literaturii,* 4th ed. (St. Petersburg, 1911), I, 271 ff.; N. K. Gudzy, *History of Early Russian Literature,* trans. S. W. Jones (New York, 1949), pp. 51 ff. Cf. Nevill Forbes, "The Composition of the Earlier Russian Chronicles," *Slavonic Review,* I (1922), 73–85—unfortunately marred by the author's unnecessary censure of the "narrow outlook" of the Russian chroniclers because they believed history to be "conducted from on high."

[127] Thus the *Primary Chronicle,* in an attempt to trace the origin of the Russians, begins with the division of the earth among Shem, Ham, and Japheth; see *The Russian Primary Chronicle,* trans. Samuel H. Cross, Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, XII (1930), 136.

[128] Charles Diehl, *Byzantium: Greatness and Decline,* trans. Naomi Walford (New Brunswick, N.J., 1957), p. 241; J. M. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire* (1937), p. 109; Steven Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization* (1933; repr., New York, 1958), p. 196.

[129] Ed. Constantine Sathas (1899); trans. E. R. A. Sewter (1953). For a general account of Psellus, see Amantos, above (n. 121), II, 247–251. The best English study of his philosophy is by Hussey (previous note), chap. IV; his merits as a historian are discussed by J. B. Bury, "Roman Emperors from Basil II to Isaac Komnênos," *EHR,* IV (1889), 41–64, 251–285 [reprinted in his *Selected Essays,* ed. Harold Temperley (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 126–214]; and J. M. Hussey, "Michael Psellus, the Byzantine Historian," *Speculum,* X (1935), 81–90. The literary aspect of Psellus' work has been exhaustively studied by Émile Renauld, *Étude de la langue et du style de Michel Psellos* (Paris, 1920), with bibliography, pp. ix–xxix.

[130] The Byzantine ideal of historiography is summarily but competently discussed by Georgina Buckler, *Anna Comnena* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 225–229.

[131] Ed. Carl Benedict Hase, *CSHB,* II, 1–178.

[132] J. D. A. Ogilvy, *Books Known to Anglo-Saxon Writers from Aldheim to Alcuin* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 14.

[133] Gildas: ed. Joseph Stevenson, *EHS* (1838), trans. J. A. Giles, *Six Old English Chronicles* (1878), pp. 295–380; "Nennius": ed. Joseph Stevenson, *EHS* (1838), trans. A. W. Wade-Evans (1938); *King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of the Compendious History of the World by Orosius,* ed. Joseph Bosworth (1859), and [together with the original Latin] ed. Henry Sweet, *EETS*:OS, LXXIX (1883); *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: the translation by S. I. Tucker (1953) ed. Dorothy Whitelock *et al.* (1961; Amer. ed., New Brunswick, N. J., 1961) [my quotations are extracts from the entries under A.D. 973, 1067, and 1087: in Whitelock's ed., pp. 77, 147, 162]. Further references in Whitelock's bibliography, pp. xxv–xxix.

[134] R. M. Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England* (1952), chap. II; Thomas D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, RB* (1862–1871), 3 vols.

[135] *Chronicum Scotorum,* ed. and trans. William M. Hennessy, *RB* (1866). The edition of Florence of Worcester by Benjamin Thorpe, *EHS* (1848–1849), 2 vols., contains only the text from A.D. 450 to 1117, with a continuation to 1295; the same ground is covered in the translation of Thomas Forester (1854). I have consulted the complete version: *Chronicon ex chronicis, ab initio mundi vsque ad Annum Domini.1118.deductum* (1592).

[136] Ed. Sir Henry Ellis, *RB* (1858).

[137] Sprott: ed. Thomas Hearne (Oxford, 1719), trans. William Bell (Liverpool, 1851); Malmesbury (probable author): ed. Frank S. Haydon, *RB* (1858–1863), 3 vols.; Cirencester: ed. John E. B. Mayor, *RB* (1863–1869), 2 vols., trans. J. A. Giles, above (n. 133), pp. 419–471; Higden: ed. Churchill Babington and Joseph R. Lumby, *RB* (1865–1886), 9 vols., with the translations of John of Trevisa (1387) and an anonymous fifteenth-century writer. These and similar chronicles, inevitably continued by others, were supplemented by translations of earlier works, such as Trevisa's (?) abbreviated version of Methodius' universal history [ed. Aaron J. Perry, *EETS*:OS, CLXVII (1925), 94–112].

[138] Wyntoun, *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland,* ed. David Laing, in *Historians of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1872–1879), vols. II, III, IX; Capgrave, *The Chronicle of England,* ed. Francis C. Fingeston, *RB* (1858). The all-inclusive nature of world

chronicles has, of course, its counterpart in the drama of the period; cf. E. Catherine Dunn, "The Medieval 'Cycle' as History Play," *SRen,* VII (1960), 76–89.

[139] As, for example, *The Story of England by Robert of Brunne,* ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, *RB* (1887), 2 vols.

[140] Ed. Sir Henry Savile, *Rervm Anglicarvm scriptores post Bedam* (1596), fols. 1–98v; more readily accessible in the edition of William Stubbs, *RB* (1887–1889), 2 vols.; trans. J. A. Giles (1866). On Malmesbury and his contemporaries, see R. R. Darlington, *Anglo-Norman Historians* (1947), and V. H. Galbraith, above (n. 118), pp. 15–28; there is also a competent survey by Heinz Richter, *Englische Geschichtschreiber des 12. Jahrhunderte* (Berlin, 1938), pp. 54–125.

[141] Ed. Henry O. Coxe, *EHS* (1841–1842), 4 vols. [covering the period A.D. 447 to 1235]; ed. Henry G. Hewlett, *RB* (1886–1889), 3 vols. [A.D. 1154–1235]; trans. J. A. Giles (1849), 2 vols. [A.D. 447–1257].

[142] Ed. Henry R. Luard, *RB* (1872–1883), 7 vols. Since the thirteenth century, revised portions of the *Chronica maiora* have also been issued as the *Historia Anglorum;* the best modern edition is by Sir Frederick Madden, *RB* (1866–1869), 3 vols.; trans. J. A. Giles (1852–1854), 3 vols.

[143] The error was made by Archbishop Matthew Parker, editor of Matthew Paris' *Historia Anglorum* (*Historia Maior,* 1571) as well as of the complete text of "Matthew of Westminster" (*Flores historiarum,* 1567). The latter is presently available in the edition by Henry R. Luard, *RB* (1890), 3 vols.; trans. Charles D. Yonge (1853), 2 vols.

[144] Dom David Knowles, while acknowledging the traditional respect for Matthew Paris, observes that at present—"as a critical historian"—Paris is regarded as inferior to Malmesbury (*Saints and Scholars* [Cambridge, 1962], p. 110).

[145] *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649), in *Works* (New York, 1932), V, 25. In my account of Paris, I am obviously indebted to the brilliant lecture by V. H. Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris* (Glasgow, 1944)); but I have also benefited from Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), esp. chap. VIII. See further David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge, 1948), Vol. I, chap. XXV, and the introduction by V. H. Galbraith, ed., *The St. Albans Chronicle 1406–1420* (Oxford, 1937), pp. ix–lxxv.

[146] On the influence of Augustine, see Edward Moore, *Studies in Dante,* 1st Series (Oxford, 1896), pp. 291–294; Edmund G. Gardner, *Dante and the Mystics* (1912), chap. II; and Rand, above (n. 68), chap. VIII. The Orosian influence has been studied by Edoardo Zama, "Orosio e Dante," *La Cultura,* n.s., II [1] (1892), 429–435; Paget Toynbee, "Dante's Obligations to Orosius," *Romania,* XXIV (1895), 385–398; and Edward Moore, *op. cit.,* pp. 279–282.

[147] *Paradiso,* XXXIII, 86–90: "bound by love in one volume, the scattered leaves of all the universe; substance and accidents and their relationships, as though together fused, after such fashion that what I tell of is one simple flame" (trans. P. H. Wicksteed). See further Charles S. Singleton, *Dante Studies II: Journey to Beatrice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 86 ff.; Romano Guardini, "Dante," in *Grosse Geschichtsdenker,* ed. Rudolf Stadelmann (Tübingen and Stuttgart, 1949), pp. 77–94; and esp. Gerald G. Walsh, "Dante's Philosophy of History," *CHR,* XX (1934–1935), 117–134 [reprinted in Guilday, above (n. 109), pp. 113–146].

[148] *Registrum huius operis libri cronicarum* (Nuremberg, 1493), fols. 259–261v. The work is described fully by T. F. Dibdin, *Bibliotheca Spenceriana* (1814), III, 255–280, and discussed by Paul Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluss des Humanismus* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1910), pp. 87 ff., and Rudolph Bernoulli, "Das Weltallbild in Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik," in *Buch und Bucheinband* [Essays presented to Hans Loubier] (Leipzig, 1923), pp. 48–58.

[149] *Svppvtatio annorvm mvndi* (Wittenberg, 1541), trans. into German by Johann

Aurifaber as *Chronica* (Wittenberg, 1551). The work is discussed by Hans Henning-Pflanz, *Geschichte und Eschatologie bei Martin Luther* (Stuttgart, 1939), esp. pp. 34–44; but see further Hanns Lilje, *Luthers Geschichtsanschauung* (Zurich, 1932); Anders Nygren, "Luthers Lehre von den zwei Reichen," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, LXXIV (1949), 1–8; and John M. Headley, *Luther's View of Church History* (New Haven, 1963). On Protestant historiography, see Franz X. von Wegele, *Geschichte der deutschen Historiographie* (Munich and Leipzig, 1885), pp. 178 ff.; Eduart Feuter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie*, 3rd ed. (Munich and Berlin, 1936), pp. 186 ff.; and Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* (Boston, 1948), pp. 46 ff. See further P. Joachimsen, above (n. 148), chap. IV, "Humanistische Weltchroniken." Sir George Clark's Creighton Lecture, *The Cycle of War and Peace in Modern History* (Cambridge, 1949), is a curiously substandard performance for a scholar of such eminence.

[150] *Chronica, Zeÿt-büch und geschycht-bibel von anbegyn biss inn diss gegenwertig MDXXXJ jar* (Strassburg, 1531). On Franck, see Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (1914; repr., Boston, 1959), chap. IV.

[151] The best account of this idea is by H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel* (Cardiff, 1935). But see further Joseph W. Swain, "The Theory of the Four Monarchies: Opposition History under the Roman Empire," *CP*, XXXV (1940), 1–21.

[152] Carion, *Chronica durch Magistrũ*, ed. Melanchthon (Wittenberg, [1532]); Melanchthon, *Chronicon absolvtissimvm ab orbe condito vsque ad Christum deductum, in quo non Carionis solùm opus continetur* ([Basle], 1560); and *Chronicorvm ab orbe condito pars secvnda* (Basle, 1560). Carion's work, repeatedly printed in the original German and in a Latin version, was also translated into Dutch, French, and English (below, n. 211); there were, in addition, numerous abridgements. The work was continued not only by Melanchthon but by the widely-respected Caspar Peucer.

[153] *De qvatvor svmmis imperiis . . . libri tres* (Strassburg, 1556).

[154] By Raoul de Presles (1486); in the sixteenth century, *De civ. Dei* was translated anew by Jacques Tigeou and Gentian Hervet. By 1490 the Latin text was already in print at Basle, Strassburg, Venice, Rome, Naples, etc.

[155] Among the editors of the Latin text: Joannes Caesarius, Margarinus de la Bigne, Aeneas Vulpes, Andreas Schottus. Translations were undertaken into French by Claude de Seyssel; Italian, by Giovanni Guerini; German, anonymously.

[156] Vincent's *Speculum historiale* was translated *in toto* into French, German and Spanish (Ullman, above, n. 115). Numerous other mediæval chronicles were issued in the massive collections of Sichardus, Schardius, Schottus, Savile, Du Chesne, *et al.* (cited above, n. 86, 102, 104, 140).

[157] *Thesavrvs temporvm* (Leyden, 1606), including the continuations by Jerome, Prosper, Idatius, *et al.* (above n. 70).

[158] *Opus excellentissimũ hystoriarũ seu cronicarũ* (Leyden, 1512), 3 vols.; discussed by James B. Walker, *The "Chronicles" of Saint Antoninus* (Washington, D.C., 1933), esp. chap. V.

[159] *Enneades Marci Antonij Sabellici ab orbe condito ad inclinationem Romane Imperij* (Venice, 1498).

[160] Wrote Vives: "A general outline of Universal History down to our own day is desirable" (*apud* W. H. Woodward, *Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance* [Cambridge, 1906], p. 199).

[161] Charles de Bouelles, *Aetatvm mundi septem supputatio* ([Paris], 1520); Matthieu Beroalde, *Chronicvm, scriptvræ sacræ autoritate constitvtvm* ([Geneva], 1575), with one portion (Bk. V) in annalistic form; Philippe Briet, *Annales mundi, sive Chronicon universale*, "ultima Editione" (Ausburg and Dillingen, 1696); Jean de Bussières,

Flosculi historici delibati . . . sive historia universalis, 5th ed. (Oxford, 1663); Gilbert Génébrard, *Chronographiæ libri quatuor* (Leyden, 1609); Philippe Labbé, *Chronologia historica* (Paris, 1670), 5 vols.; Antoine Le Grand, *Historia sacra a mundi exordio* (1685); Denis Pétau, *Rationarivm temporvm,* "editio ultima" (Paris, 1652); Jacques Salian, *Annales ecclesiastici veteris testamẽti* (Cologne, 1620–1624), 6 vols. A typical anonymous French work: *Cronica cronicarum . . . cõtenans deux parties . . . la premiere cõmẽcãt a la creation du Monde* (Paris, 1521), with illustrations in color. See further below, n. 219.

[162] Girolamo Bardi, *Chronologia vniversale* (Venice, 1581), 4 vols.; Donato Bossio, *Chronica Bossiana . . . ab orbis initio* (Milan, 1492); Giovanni Nicolò Doglioni, *Compendio historico vniversale* (Venice, 1594); Agostino Ferentilli, *Discorso vniversale* (Venice, 1574); Giovanni Lucido, *Tabvlæ annales temporvm,* in *Chronicon . . . ab orbe condito* (Venice, 1575), pt. II; Giuseppe Rosaccio, *Le sei età del mondo* (Venice, 1598); Orazio Scoglius, *Chronologia ab orbe condito,* prefixed to *A Primordio ecclesiae historiarum* etc. (Rome, 1622); Agostino Tornielli, *Annales sacri & profani, ab orbe condito* (Frankfurt, 1611), later abridged by Henri de Sponde (Paris, 1647); Orazio Torsellino, *Epitomæ historiarum libri XX,* 2nd ed. (Leyden, 1621).

[163] Ubbe Emmen, *Canon chronicvs,* appended to *Opvs chronologicvm novvm* (Groningen, 1619); Hendrik Guthberleth, *Chronologia,* 2nd. ed. (Amsterdam, 1656); Gerhard Kremer (Mercator), *Chronologia . . . ab initio mvndi* (Cologne, 1569); Pieter van Opmeer, *Chronographia . . . a mvndi exordio* (Cologne, 1625), 2 vols.; Christiaan Schotanus, *Continuationis historiæ sacræ Sulpicii Severi libri tres* (Franeker, 1656), and *Bibliotheca historiæ sacræ veteris testamenti . . . per modum commentarii in historiam sacram Sulpici Severi* (Franeker, 1661–1662), 2 vols.

[164] Jens Bircherod, *Lumen historiæ sacræ veteris & novi testamenti,* "opus posthumus . . . ab ipsius filiis editum" (Copenhagen, 1687).

[165] Manuel de Faria y Sousa, *Evropa Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1675), 2 vols.

[166] Jerónimo de Chaves, *Chronographia ò reportorio de los tiempos* (Seville, [1561]); Alonso Maldonado, *Chronica vniuersal* (Madrid, 1624); Juan de Pineda, *Los treynta libros de la monarchia ecclesiastica, o historia universal* (Barcelona, 1620), 5 vols.; Francisco Vicente de Tornamira, *Chronographia, y repertorio delos tiempos* (Pamplona, 1585); and Alonso de Acevedo, *Creación del Mundo* (1615; in *Biblioteca de autores españoles* [Madrid, 1854], II, 245–287).

[167] István Székely, *Chronica ez vilagnac yeles dolgairol* (Cracow, 1559).

[168] Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Thesaurus chronologiæ,* 4th ed. (Hebron, 1650); Gabriel Bucelin, *Nuclei historiæ universalis* (Augsburg, 1658); Abraham Bucholzer, *Index chronologicvs* (Görlitz, 1599); Heinrich Bünting, *Chronologia catholica . . . ab initio mvndi* (Magdeburg, 1608); David Chytraeus, *Series temporvm mvndi,* in *Chronologia . . . ab initio mundi* (Rostock, 1573), pp. 215 ff.; Johann Clüver, *Historiarvm epitome* (Leyden, 1645); Matthäus Dresser, *Isagoge historica* (Leipzig, 1598–1599), Vols. I–II; Johann Thomas Freig, *Historiæ synopsis* (Basle, 1580), and *Mosaicvs* (Basle, 1583); Johann Funck, *Chronologia . . . ab initio mvndi* (Wittenberg, 1601); Achilles Gasser, *Historiarvm et chronicorum mundi epitome* (Antwerp, 1533); Johann Ludwig Gottfried, *Historische chronica . . . von Anfang der Welt* (Frankfurt, 1657); Albert Otto Horn, *Idea polyhistoriæ* (Heidelberg, [1660]); Georg Horn, two versions: *Historia ecclesiastica et politica* (Leyden and Rotterdam, 1665), and *Arca Noæ. sive historia imperiorvm et regnorum à condito orbe* (Leyden and Rotterdam, 1666) [another work, misleadingly entitled *Arca Mosis sive historia mvndi* (1669), is actually a "natural" history]; Seth Kallwitz (Calvisius), *Chronologia* (Leipzig, 1605); Johann Micraelius, *Tabellæ historicæ* (Stettin, 1652); Elias Reusner, *Isagoges historicæ libri dvo* (Jena, 1600); Friederich Spanheim, *Introductio ad historiam et antiquitates sacras* (Leyden, 1657), expanded into *Introductio ad chronologiam* (Leyden, 1683). Two typical

anonymous German works: *Chronica . . . vonn aller Wellt herkommen* (Frankfurt, 1535), illustrated; and *Cronica oder Zeit Register . . . von Anfang der Welt* (Augsburg, [1601?]), a metrical version. See further above n. 148–150, 152–153.

[169] Ed. Joannes Balthasar, 5th ed. (Oxford, 1651); an English version appeared in 1687.

[170] "Renaissance Estimates of the Year of Creation," *HLQ,* XXVI (1963), 315–322.

[171] Archer Taylor, *Renaissance Guides to Books* (Berkeley, 1945), chap. III; this excellent study concentrates on Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis* (1545).

[172] *Tratado . . . dos diuersos & desuayarados caminhos, por onde nos tempos passados a pimenta & especearia veyo da India ás nossas partes,* ed. Francisco de Sousa Tavares (Lisbon, 1563). For a survey of the Portuguese historians of the sixteenth century, including Galvão, see Aubrey F. G. Bell, *Portuguese Literature* (Oxford, 1922), chap. III, sec. 5, and Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952; repr., New York, 1962), chap. XVII, with bibliography.

[173] *Der alt gloub. Das der Christen gloub von anfang der wẽlt gewart habe* (Zurich, 1539); discussed by John E. Parish, "Pre-Miltonic Representations of Adam as a Christian," *The Rice Institute Pamphlet,* XL (1953), 1–24. Something similar to this work was attempted in France by Simon de Voyon, *Catalogue des Docteurs de l'Eglise,* trans. into English by William Fiston (1560?) and John Golburne (1598).

[174] *Apologie povr tovs les grands personnages qui ont esté faussement soupçonnez de Magie* (Paris, 1625); discussed by James V. Rice, *Gabriel Naudé,* Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, XXXV (1939), 47–72. Something similar to this work was attempted in England by Thomas Vaughan in *Magia adamica* (1650).

[175] The Anabaptists, persuaded that the congregation of martyrs constitutes the true Church, supported their view with studies of history usually commencing with the persecution of "primitive" Christians (cf. Tieleman Jans van Braght, *Het bloedigh tooneel* [Dordrecht, 1669]), but sometimes harking back to the creation of the world (cf. the Hutterite *Geschichtbuech,* ed. A. J. F. Zieglschmid, *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder* [Ithaca, N.Y., 1943]). See the accounts by Ethelbert Stauffer, "Märtyrertheologie und Täuferbewegung," *ZK,* LII (1933), 545–598, trans. Robert Friedmann, "The Anabaptist Theology of Martyrdom," *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XIX (1945), 179–214; and Franklin H. Littell, *The Anabaptist View of the Church* (Philadelphia, 1952), pp. 99 ff., 108 ff.

[176] Wilhelm Preger, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus und seine Zeit* (Erlangen, 1859–1961), esp. Vol. II, chap. VIII.

[177] Samuel Ward, *The Life of Faith,* 3rd ed. (1622), p. 2. The classic study of the concept is by Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936). While discussing the idea further, I have cited a number of primary and secondary sources in some incidental contributions: "The Numerological Approach to Cosmic Order during the English Renaissance," *Isis,* XLIX (1958), 391–397; and "The Microcosm of Man," *Notes and Queries,* VII (1960), 54–56, and X (1963), 282–286.

[178] *Croniche di Messer Giovanni Villani cittadino fiorentino* (Venice, 1537), Bk. I, chap. I–III; *Selections* from this work have been translated by Rose E. Selfe, ed. P. H. Wicksteed (1896). On Villani, see Nicolai Rubinstein, "The Beginnings of Political Thought in Florence," *JWCI,* V (1942), 198–227, and the standard work by Georg Gervinus, *Historische Schriften: Geschichte der florentinischen Historiographie,* new ed. (Vienna, 1871).

[179] Herbert Butterfield, *The Statecraft of Machiavelli* (1955); see further below, n. 239. On Italian humanist historiography, see Hans Baron, "Das Erwacher des historischen Denkens im Humanismus des Quattrocento," *HZ,* CXLVII (1933), 5–20; Fueter, above (n. 149), Bk. I; Delio Cantimori, "Rhetoric and Politics in Italian Humanism," trans. Frances A. Yates, *JWCI,* I (1937–1938), 83–102; Beatrice R.

Reynolds, "Latin Historiography: A Survey, 1400–1600," *SRen,* II (1955), 7–66; and Ferguson, above (n. 149), chap. I. Fueter, Ferguson and Reynolds also discuss subsequent developments; but in addition see the equally fundamental studies by George N. Clark, *The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1929), chap. XVI; Leonard F. Dean, *Tudor Theories of History Writing,* University of Michigan Contributions in Modern Philology, I (1941), 1–24; B. R. Reynolds, "Shifting Currents in Historical Criticism," *JHI,* XVI (1953), 471–492. There is a stimulating survey by Croce, above (n. 9), pt. II, chap. IV.

[180] *The Church-History of Britain* (1655), Bk. X, The Epistle Dedicatory. For the adoption of Machiavelli's principle by Marlowe, see Irving Ribner, "The Idea of History in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine,*" *ELH,* XX (1953), 251–266; reprinted in *Elizabethan Drama,* ed. R. J. Kaufmann (New York, 1961), pp. 81–94.

[181] B. L. Ullman, "Leonardo Bruni and Humanist Historiography," *MH,* IV (1946), 45–61; reprinted in *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Rome, 1955), chap. XVI.

[182] Myron P. Gilmore, *"Fides et Eruditio:* Erasmus and the Study of History," in *Teachers of History,* ed. H. S. Hughes (Ithaca, N. Y., 1954), pp. 9–27.

[183] Vincent Luciani, *Francesco Guicciardini and his European Reputation* (New York, 1936), chap. V; revised in the Italian ed., *Francesco Guicciardini e la fortuna dell'opera sua* (Florence, 1949), chap. V. Cf. Thomas Wheeler, "Francesco Guicciardini and the Clouded Crystal Ball," *Renaissance Papers 1958, 1959, 1960* (Durham, N.C., 1961), pp. 58–65. For further references see the bibliography in Edoardo Bizzarri, *L'italiano Francesco Guicciardini* (Florence, 1942), pp. 363–373.

[184] Chap. VII; trans. Beatrice Reynolds, *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History* (New York, 1945). I have consulted two replies to Bodin's attack: Dresser, above (n. 168), I, 550 ff.; and Diggory Whear, *The Method and Order of Reading . . . Histories,* trans. Edmund Bohun (1685), pt. I, sect. III–V. See further J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress* (1920), pp. 37 ff.; Henri Sée, "La philosophie de l'histoire de Jean Bodin," *Revue historique,* CLXXV (1935), 497–505; John L. Brown, *The Methodus . . .: A Critical Study* (Washington, D.C., 1939); Leonard F. Dean, "Bodin's *Methodus* in England before 1625," *SP,* XXXIX (1942), 160–166.

[185] Even Herodotus, who had fallen into particularly evil times; see A. D. Momigliano, "The Place of Herodotus in the History of Historiography," *History,* XLIII (1958), 1–13 [reprinted in *Secondo contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (Rome, 1960), pp. 29–44].

[186] Paul van Tieghem, "La littérature latine de la Renaissance," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance,* IV (1944), 200.

[187] Gentili, *De jure belli* (Hanau, 1598); Grotius, *De jure belli ac pacis* (Paris, 1625). On the foundation of international law as laid by Grotius *et al.,* see John N. Figgis, *Studies of Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1916), pp. 241 ff.

[188] W. S. M. Knight, *The Life and Works of Hugo Grotius* (1925), p. 212; see further F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Thinkers* (1926), p. 148, and *Some Great Political Idealists of the Christian Era* (1937), p. 100.

[189] 1st ed., Paris, 1576; trans. Robert Ashley, *Of the Interchangeable Course or Variety of Things in the Whole World* (1594). The work is discussed by Bury, above (n. 184), pp. 44 ff.; Kathrine Koller, "Two Elizabethan Expressions of the Idea of Mutability," *SP,* XXXV (1938), 228–237; and Werner L. Gundersheimer, "Louis Le-Roy's Humanistic Optimism," *JHI,* XXIII (1962), 324–339. See further Herschel Baker, *The Wars of Truth* (1952), pp. 65 ff., and below, n. 280. The best studies of the background are by Howard R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), and Willard Farnham, *The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy* (Berkeley, 1936; repr., Oxford, 1956), *passim* esp. in chap. III–IV, VII–X.

[190] Thomas Fortescue, *The Foreste* (1571), fol. 23v. This work contains (in pt. I, chap. XI) one of the finest summary statements on the Six Ages, translated from Pedro Mexía's *Silua de varia lection* (Valladolid, 1551), pt. I, chap. XXVI. One of the best English accounts is by William Gouge, *The Progresse of Divine Providence* (1645), pp. 13 ff. See further the discussion by Isabel E. Rathbone, *The Meaning of Spenser's Fairyland* (New York, 1937), chap. II.

[191] Villani, for example, adopted an astrological periodization, while Sabellicus divided his *Enneades* at the sack of Rome by Alaric.

[192] For fuller discussions, upon which this paragraph is based, see H. Spangenberg, "Die Perioden der Weltgeschichte," *HZ,* CXXVII (1923), 1–49; Wallace K. Ferguson, "Humanist Views of the Renaissance," *American Historical Review,* XLV (1939), 1–28 [reprinted in *The Renaissance* etc., above, n. 146]; and esp. Theodor E. Mommsen, "Petrarch's Conception of the 'Dark Ages'," *Speculum,* XVII (1942), 226–242 [reprinted in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1959), chap. VII]. See further Myron P. Gilmore, "The Renaissance Conception of the Lessons of History," in *Facets of the Renaissance,* ed. W. H. Werkmeister (Los Angeles, 1959), pp. 73–86; George Gordon, *Medium Aevum and the Middle Age,* S.P.E. Tract, XIX (1925), 1–28; Erwin Panofsky, "Renaissance and Renascences," *Kenyon Review,* VI (1944), 201–236; Federico Chabod, "The Concept of the Renaissance," in *Machiavelli and the Renaissance,* trans. David Moore (1958), chap. IV; William J. Bouwsma, *The Interpretation of Renaissance Humanism* (Washington, D.C., 1959); Denys Hay, *The Italian Renaissance in its Historical Background* (Cambridge, 1961), chap. II; and the numerous references to the "Renaissance problem" in Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm, 1960), pp. 5n, 9n. Panofsky's work is the most brilliant recent attempt to uphold the existence of the "Renaissance."

[193] 1st ed., *ca.* 1554; *The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount,* ed. Douglas Hamer (Edinburgh, 1931), I, 198–386.

[194] *The Monarche,* ll. 4147–4153.

[195] Arthur Golding, *Thabridgment of the Histories of Trogus Pompeius* (1564), The Epistle Dedicatory. Parallel statements occur in the introductory matter to numerous other translations: Alexander Barclay's Sallust (1520?) Sir Anthony Cope's Livy (1544), Peter Ashton's Giovio (1546), Nicholas Smyth's Herodianus (1550?), Golding's Bruni (1563), Meredith Hanmer's Eusebius (1577), Fenton's Guicciardini (1579), Barnaby Rich's Herodotus (1584), Sir Henry Savile's Tacitus (1591), Thomas Bedingfeld's Machiavelli (1595), Richard Grenewey's Tacitus (1598), Sir Clement Edmondes' Caesar (1600), Thomas Lodge's Josephus (1602), Edward Grimeston's Jean de Serres (1607) and Pierre d'Avity (1615), John Bingham's Xenophon (1623), Dacres' Machiavelli (1636, 1640), *et al.*

[196] Esp. Woodward, above (n. 160), pp. 42 ff., 135 ff., etc.; D. T. Starnes, "Purpose in the Writing of History," *MP,* XX (1923), 281–300; Willard Farnham, "The Progeny of *A Mirror for Magistrates*," *MP,* XXIX (1932), 395–410; Lily B. Campbell, "The Use of Historical Patterns in the Reign of Elizabeth," *HLQ,* I (1937–1938), 135–167, and *Tudor Conceptions of History and Tragedy in "A Mirror for Magistrates"* (Berkeley, 1936); Firth, *Essays,* below (n. 281), pp. 42 ff.; W. A. Armstrong, "The Elizabethan Concept of the Tyrant," *RES,* XXII (1946), 161–181; William Peery, "Tragic Retribution in the 1599 *Mirror for Magistrates*," *SP,* XLVI (1949), 113–130; and below (n. 210): Holzknecht, pp. 296 ff., Tillyard, pp. 54 ff., and Campbell, pt. I *passim.* The tremendous popularity of history is most ably set forth by Louis B. Wright, "The Elizabethan Middle-Class Taste for History," *Journal of Modern History,* III (1931), 175–197; expanded in *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1935), chap. IX.

[197] *The Schollers Medley* (1614), p. 112; reprinted *verbatim* in *A Survey of History* (1638), p. 395.

[198] *Commentary upon ... Mark* (1661), II, 1077. Parallel summary statements will be found in Luther, *Tischreden,* trans. Henry Bell, *Colloquia mensalia* (1652), p. 519, and Richard Eburne, *The Tvvo-folde Tribvte* (1613), I, 18. The theory is lucidly expounded by Guillaume du Vair, *De la Constance,* trans. Andrew Court, *A Buckler against Adversitie* (1622), pp. 76 ff.

[199] " 'The Bloody and Cruell Turke': The Background of a Renaissance Commonplace," *SRen,* X (1963), 126–135.

[200] William Gouge, *Gods Three Arrowes* (1631), *passim.* The Roman Catholic position was identical; see Leonardus Lessius, *De providentia numinis,* trans. "A.B." as *Ravvleigh his Ghost* ([St. Omer], 1631), pp. 80 f.

[201] Sir Francis Hubert, *The Deplorable Life and Death of Edward the Second* (1628), p. 73. Long after the Renaissance, any disturbance in nature was still regarded as a visitation of Divine Justice. This theory reached hysterical proportions after the calamity that befell "wicked" Lisbon on November 1, 1755; but at last powerful voices—notably Voltaire's—were raised in dissent. See T. D. Kendrick, *The Lisbon Earthquake* (1956), and Theodore Besterman, *Voltaire Essays* (1962), chap. III.

[202] *The State of Christendom* (1657), p. 87. For similar statements, lengthier but less eloquent, see George Whetstone, *The Englysh Myrror* (1586), pp. 128 ff., 145 ff.; Thomas Jackson, *Davids Pastorall Poem* (1603), pp. 214 ff.; and Christopher Lever, *The Historie of the Defendors* (1627), chap. XXIX. The standard "universalized" approach to the Virgin Queen is admirably expounded by Frances A. Yates, "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea," *JWCI,* X (1947), 27–82.

[203] Oliver Pigge, *Meditations concerning ... the Saftie of England* (1589), p. 26, and Samuel Garey, *Great Brittans Little Calendar* (1618), pp. 184, 185; respectively. Unfortunately God's protection did not extended to poetic accounts of the Plot, as evidenced from the typically atrocious verses of John Rhodes, *A Briefe Summe of the Treason* etc. (1606).

[204] Rudolf B. Gottfried, *Geoffrey Fenton's "Historie of Guicciardin,"* Indiana University Publications, Humanities Series, No. 3 (1940).

[205] R. Mark Benbow, "The Providential Theory of Historical Causation in Holinshed's *Chronicles:* 1577 and 1587," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language,* I (1959), 264–276.

[206] *The Vnion of the two noble and illustrate famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* (1548), I, 5ov. On the traditional attitude toward the battle, see Charles L. Kingsford, *Henry V: The Typical Mediæval Hero* (1901), chap. X, and the account in an anonymous biography (1513) based on Tito Livio's *Vita Henrici Quinti,* ed. C. L. Kingsford, *The First English Life of Henry the Fifth* (Oxford, 1911), pp. 51 ff., 93. For other accounts similar to Hall's, see *The Cronycle of Fabyan* (1516), II, 178 ff.; John Stow, *Annales* (1631), pp. 349 ff.; John Speed, *The History of Great Britaine* (1611), pp. 631 ff.; and the anonymous play discussed by Bernard M. Ward, "*The Famous Victories of Henry V:* Its Place in Elizabethan Dramatic Literature," *RES,* IV (1928), 270–294. The essential truth of these accounts—however exaggerated they might seem—has been confirmed by A. H. Burne, "The Battle of Agincourt," *History Today,* VI (1956), 598–605.

[207] *Ibid.,* fols. 52–52v.

[208] *Henry V,* IV, i, 154–196.

[209] Michael Quinn, "Providence in Shakespeare's Yorkist Plays," *Shakespeare Quarterly,* X (1959), 45–52.

[210] See particularly Tom F. Driver, *The Sense of History in Greek and Shakespearean Drama* (1960), esp. pt. III. Shakespeare's treatment of history is also discussed by M. W. MacCallum, *Shakespeare's Roman Plays* (1910), pp. 73–94; F. J. C. Hearnshaw, "Shakespeare as Historian," *CR,* CXXIV (1923), 728–738; Karl J. Holzknecht, *The Backgrounds of Shakespeare's Plays* (New York, 1950), pp. 307 ff.; Karl Brunner,

"Middle-Class Attitudes in Shakespeare's Histories," *Shakespeare Survey,* VI (1953), 36–38. For fuller studies, see E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays* (1944); Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's "Histories"* (San Marino, Calif., 1947), pt. II; Irving Ribner, *The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare* (Princeton, 1957), chap. IV, VI, VIII; and M. M. Reese, *The Cease of Majesty* (1961). Cf. Chapman, below, n. 280.

[211] Carion (above, n. 152): trans. Walter Lynne, *The Thre Bokes of Cronicles* (1550); Pétau (above, n. 161): trans. Anon., *The History of the World* (1659); Doglioni (above, n. 162): *The Recovery of Lost Time,* being Pt. I of *The Historians Guide* (1676); Faria y Sousa (above, n. 165): trans. John Stevens, *The History of Portugal from the first Ages of the World* (1698); Galvão (above, n. 172): trans. Anon., ed. Richard Hakluyt, *The Discoveries of the VVorld from their first Originall* (1601); Bullinger (above, n. 173): trans. Miles Coverdale, *The Olde Fayth* (1547); Naudé (above, n. 174): trans. John Davies of Kidwelly, *The History of Magick . . . from the Creation* (1657); Sleidanus (above, n. 153): trans. Stephen Wythers, *A Briefe Chronicle of the Four Principall Empyres* (1563), and Abraham Darcie, *The Key of Historie. Or . . . Abridgment of the Four Chiefe Monarchies* (1627; 4th ed., 1661).

[212] Richard Brathwait, *The English Gentleman,* 3rd ed. (1641), p. 121. On English historical literature from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth century, see the surveys by James Gairdner, above (n. 93), pp. 292 ff.; Charles L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913), chap. X; Sir John Sandys, "Scholarship," in *Shakespeare's England* (Oxford, 1916), I, 251 ff.; Charles Whibley, "The Chroniclers and Historians of the Tudor Age," *Literary Studies* (1919), pp. 1–59; James W. Thompson, *A History of Historical Writing* (New York, 1942), I, chap. 35–36; Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 209 ff.; Denys Hay, "Introduction" to *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil* (1950), pp. xxiii ff.; William R. Trimble, "Early Tudor Historiography, 1485–1548," *JHI,* XI (1950), 30–41; Fritz Levy, "The Elizabethan Revolution in Historiography," *History 4* (Cleveland and New York, 1961), pp. 27–52; and the extensive study by F. Smith Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought 1580–1640* (1962).

[213] Among other works by Bale: *The Actes of English Votaryes* (1546 ff.), a survey "frō the worldes begynnynge, to a full coplete thousand years sens Christes incarnacyon"; and *Illvstrivm Maioris Brittaniae Scriptorvm, hoc est, Angliæ, Cambriæ, ac Scotiæ Summariū* (1548), which modestly commences as late as the post-inundation period. Honor McCusker, in *John Bale* (Bryn Mawr, 1942), p. 127, has assured us that Bale's "preoccupation with the past stamps him in the end as an historian, not an apologist"; but I suspect that Bale would have been the first to deny this accusation.

[214] W. G. Boswell-Stone, ed., *Shakspere's Holinshed: The Chronicle and the Historical Plays Compared* (1896); Geoffrey Bullough, ed., *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* (1960–1962), Vols. III–IV.

[215] *The History of Great Britaine* (1611), pp. 161 ff.

[216] See the survey by U. T. Holmes, Jr., in *The Works of . . . Du Bartas* (Chapel Hill, 1935), I, 28–66.

[217] Though the principal translator of Du Bartas, Sylvester was not the only one. Among others: Sir Philip Sidney, whose partial version of the "First Week" is no longer extant; and James VI of Scotland, the first to introduce Du Bartas in English (*L'Uranie,* trans. 1584). Sylvester's piecemeal translations, began in the 1590's, were completed by 1608; see Lily B. Campbell, *Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1959), pt. I, chap. IX–XI.

[218] William Hodson, *The Divine Cosmographer* (Cambridge, 1640), p. 147. On the influence of Du Bartas, see Sir Sidney Lee, *The French Renaissance in England* (Oxford, 1910), pp. 333–355; Alfred H. Upham, *The French Influence in English Litera-*

ture (New York, 1911), chap. IV; and esp. Harry Ashton, *Du Bartas en Angleterre* (Paris, 1908). The enthusiastic work of George C. Taylor, *Milton's Use of Du Bartas* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), while still useful, overstates its thesis.

[219] *Du Bartas his Deuine Weekes, and Workes* (1621), p. 9; I have quoted the pertinent passage in its entirety in the study cited below (n. 297), pp. 174–175. For other French poets besides Du Bartas who commenced with the creation, see M. Thibaut de Maisières, *Les Poèmes inspirés du debut de la Genèse à l'époque de la Renaissance* (Louvain, 1931), and R. A. Sayce, *The French Biblical Epic in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1955), *passim.*

[220] Ralegh's vague adherence to the concept of the Four Monarchies is clearly affirmed in the "exquisite Abstract" issued later (*Tvbvs Historicvs: An Historical Perspective* [1636]). The original work is discussed by Sir Charles Firth, "Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*," *PBA,* VIII (1917–1918), 427–446 [reprinted in *Essays Historical and Literary* (Oxford, 1938), pp. 34–60]; C. F. Tucker Brooke, "Sir Walter Ralegh as Poet and Philosopher," *ELH,* V (1938), esp. pp. 103 ff.; Ernest A. Strathmann, "*The History of the World* and Ralegh's Skepticism," *HLQ,* III (1940), 265–287, and *Sir Walter Ralegh: A Study in Elizabethan Skepticism* (New York, 1951), pp. 109 ff. and *passim;* and Fussner, above (n. 212), chap. VII.

[221] *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662), "Devon-shire," p. 262.

[222] Cromwell's recommendation of the work to his son as "a good body of history" is probably the most restrained praise on record (Wilbur C. Abbott, ed., *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* [Cambridge, Mass., 1937], I, 26n). More typical was Whear's judgment, above (n. 184), p. 41: "of al the Modern Writers . . . Sir *Walter Rawleigh* our Countrey-man deserves the first place."

[223] *The Marrow of Historie, or an Epitome of . . . Rawleigh* (1650; 2nd ed., 1662); and *The History of the World: The Second Part* (1652). Still, Ross managed to find something to complain about, as in *Som Animadversions and Observations upon Sr Walter Raleighs Historie of the World* (1653). Rushing to Ralegh's defense, Sir William Sanderson declared that Ross' abridgment ruined the original "Master-peice," while his animadversions left it unaffected: Ralegh "yet indures the examination of his Errours" (*The Lives and Reigns of Mary Queen of Scotland, and . . . James* [1656], I, "Proeme").

[224] *Op. cit.* (n. 211), "To the Reader."

[225] Gordon, *Opvs chronologicvm . . . à mundi exordio* (Limoges, 1617), 2 vols.; Isaacson, *Satvrni ephemerides sive tabvla historico-chronologica* (1633); Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (1650) and *Annalium pars posterior* (1654), trans. Anon., *The Annals of the World* (1658); Allen, *A Chain of Scripture Chronology; from the Creation* (1659); Howell, *An Institution of General History, from the Beginning of the VVorld* (1661); Baillie, *Operis historici et chronologici libri duo . . . à creatione mundi* (Amsterdam, 1668); Sir William Alexander, *Doomes-day,* in *Recreations* (1637); William Vaughan, *The Chvrch Militant* (1640); Robert Clarke, *Christiados* (Bruges, 1670); Christopher Nesse, *A Compleat and Compendious Church-History . . . from the Beginning of the World,* 2nd ed. (1681); John Edwards, Πολυποίκιλος Σοφία (1699), 2 vols.; *et al.* For one of the most presumptuous works, see Sir Thomas Urquhart, Παντοχρονοχανον [*sic*]: . . . *deducing the true pedigree . . . of the Urqvharts since the Creation of the World* (1652).

[226] The *Pilgrimage,* while entirely different from *Pvrchas his Pilgrim* (1619), has definite affinities with the encyclopaedic *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), the longest single work published in English until that time.

[227] Trans. Richard More, *The Key of Revelation* (1643). Chiliasm, though widespread, was a highly controversial subject; among the writers involved in the controversy: Thomas Brightman (1615), Johann Alsted, trans. William Burton (1643), Thomas Hayne (1645), Joseph Hall (1650), Nathaniel Holmes (1661).

[228] Still other examples further afield: Robert Glover's *Nobilitas political vel civilis* (1608), later translated by Thomas Milles, typical of the host of historical defenses of "the bright estate of noblenesse," all commencing with the first nobleman of them all, Adam; Thomas Lydiat's *Emendatio temporvm compendio facta ab initio mundi* (1609), the Latin counterpart to numerous computations of chronology in English, all harking back to Adams; John Speed's *The Genealogies recorded in the Sacred Scriptvres . . . with the Line of ovr Sauour . . . obserued from Adam* (1611 et seq.), prefixed—"cvm privilegio"—to the editions of the King James Bible; Edward Cooke's *Bartas Junior. Or, the Worlds Epitome* (1631), part of the legacy bequeathed by an obvious master, in atrocious verses; Peter Heylyn's massive *Cosmographie* (1652), a history *and* a geography of the whole world, introduced with the standard account of creation; Alexander Ross' Πανσεβεία: *Or, a View of all Religions in the World, from the Creation* (1653), a sub-primitive effort in comparative religion, with a running commentary denouncing past and present deviates from the author's severe orthodoxy; and Thomas Fuller's *The Church-History of Britain; from the Birth of Jesus Christ* (1655), the English counterpart to the Continental compilations of Flacius and Baronius. If these works do not suffice to demonstrate the universalizing inclinations of Renaissance England, we may go to such extremes as George Hakewill's historical study of regicide, *Scvtvm regivm. id est, adversvs omnes regicidas et regicidarvm patronos, ab initio mundi* (1612); also Robert Sibthorpe's *Apostolicke Obedience* (1627), harking back to the early Church in a desperate attempt to justify, of all things, taxation; and finally the most fascinating work of all, George Owen Harry's *The Genealogy of the High and Mighty Monarch, James* (1605), tracing His Majesty's descent not only to Bruit but to Noah, here triumphantly crowned "the first Monarch of the world." Yet Harry's work was soon superseded by William Slatyer's, whose appendix to *The History of Great Britanie* (1621), traces the "stemma Iacobi" beyond even Noah—to Adam.

[229] 1st ed., Strassburg, 1554; revised in 1559, 1563, 1570 (the last two editions in English). The title *Actes and Monuments* dates from 1563; since 1776, the work has been known as *The Book of Martyrs.* Here I am using the text of *The Ecclesiastical History contaynyng the Actes* etc. (1570).

[230] Charles Whibley, *Literary Studies* (1919), p. 45, and Hugh Massingham, "John Foxe," in *Great Tudors,* ed. Katharine Garvin (1935), p. 379; respectively. See further the estimate by J. F. Mozley, *John Foxe and his Book* (1940), esp. chap. VI.

[231] As in the case, particularly, of the *Vitae Patrum.* These, collected by Heribert Rosweyde, S.J. (Antwerp, 1615), are presently accessible in *PL,* LXXIII–LXXIV; there is a partial translation by Helen Waddell, *The Desert Fathers* (1936; repr., Ann Arbor, 1957).

[232] But unlike her successor, she published none of her labors. See *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings,* ed. Caroline Pemberton, *EETS*:OS, CXIII (1899).

[233] The classic study is by F. O. Matthiessen, *Translation: An Elizabethan Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931). See further Lee, above (n. 219), *passim;* O. L. Hatcher, "Aims and Methods of Elizabethan Translators," *Englische Studien,* XLIV (1912), 174–192; Flora R. Amos, *Early Theories of Translation* (New York, 1920), chap. III; Carey H. Conley, *The First English Translators of the Classics* (New Haven, 1927); Whibley, above (n. 230), pp. 60–111; Louis B. Wright, "Translations for the Elizabethan Middle Class," *The Library,* 4th Series, XIII (1932–1933), 312–331; Henry B. Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman,* University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, XXXV (Madison, 1933).

[234] Wrote Scaliger: "Sed de Iosepho nos hoc audacter dicimus, non solum in rebus Iudaicis, sed etiam in externis tutius illi credi, quam omnibus Græcis, & Latinis. Itaque desinat mirari doctus vir, cur tot eruditi, & nos quoque, qui non in illis eruditis, sed huius scriptoris lectione peregrini non sumus, tantum illi deferamus, cuius fides &

eruditio in omnibus elucet" (*Opvs de emendatione temporvm,* 2nd revised ed. [Leyden, 1598], Prolegomena, sigs. $\gamma 2^{v} = \gamma 3^{1}$). But the famous passage on Jesus (above, n. 95) was already beginning to be regarded as an interpolation. On the ensuing controversy, see Gustav A. Müller, *Christus bei Josephus* (Innsbruck, 1890); Leon Bernstein, *Flavius Josephus* (New York, 1938), chap. XI; and esp. Friedrich H. Schoedel, *Flavivs Iosephvs de Iesv Christo Testatvs* (Leipzig, 1840). In general, Renaissance England did not question what Donald Lupton called Josephus' "famous *Testimony* of our *Lord*" (*The Glory of their Times* [1640], p. 13); Lodge himself accepted the "testimony" without comment.

[235] Catholics were just as imaginative: an anonymous translation of *The Ecclesiasticall History of Theodoret* ([St. Omer], 1612) was made in order prove that the early Church was really "quite contrary to the reformed faith of the Protestants."

[236] Unlike their Continental brethren, English Renaissance publishers failed to issue even the Latin texts of Sulpicius and Orosius. Salvian was published only once (Oxford, 1629); later, he was also the first to be translated into English (1700).

[237] Convenient lists are available in Conley and Lathrop, above, n. 233; but see esp. Henrietta R. Palmer, *List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics Printed before 1641* (1911). Some translators are cited above, n. 195.

[238] Napoleone Orsini, "Elizabethan Manuscript Translations of Machiavelli's *Prince*," *JWCI,* I (1937–1938), 166–169; one of these versions has been edited by Hardin Craig (Chapel Hill, 1944).

[239] *The Pathway to Honovr* (1612), pp. 26–27. Numerous references to studies of the Machiavelli legend during the Renaissance are given by Irving Ribner, "The Significance of Gentilet's *Contre-Machiavel*," *Modern Language Quarterly,* X (1949), 153–157; but see esp. Mario Praz, *The Flaming Heart* (New York, 1958), pp. 90–145, and George L. Mosse, *The Holy Pretence* (Oxford, 1957). There is an extensive bibliography in Chabod, above (n. 192), pp. 201–247.

[240] As was to be expected, Hobbes' translation of Thucydides was preparatory to the formulation of his political philosophy; see Richard Schlatter, "Thomas Hobbes and Thucydides," *JHI,* VI (1945), 350–362. Hobbes' view of history is discussed by Leo Strauss, *The Political Philosophy of Hobbes,* trans. E. M. Sinclair (Oxford, 1936), chap. VI; the only substantial study of seventeenth-century reactions to Hobbes is by Samuel I. Mintz, *The Hunting of Leviathan* (Cambridge, 1962).

[241] Boece's work was first published in 1527; Belenden's Scots version (*ca.* 1537) was translated into English by William Harrison for Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577), II. The work ("a palpably false history") is discussed by J. B. Black, "Boece's *Scotorum Historiae*," in *Quatercentenary of the Death of Hector Boece* (Aberdeen, 1937), pp. 30–53; R. W. Chambers and Walter W. Seton, "Bellenden's Translation of the History of Hector Boece," *Scottish Historical Review,* XVII (1919), 5–15; and Kendrick, below (n. 245), pp. 65 ff.

[242] *The First Five Books of the Roman History* (Edinburgh, 1822); later re-edited for the Scottish Text Society by A. W. Craig (Edinburgh, 1901–1903), 2 vols.

[243] Part of Cicero's celebrated "definition" of history in *De oratore,* II, 9.

[244] *The Romane Historie vvritten by T. Livivs* (1600), "To the Reader." Holland made a similar observation concerning Suetonius: "hee seemeth to affect nothing so much as uncorrupt & plaine trueth, (the principall vertue of an Historiographer)" [*The Historie of Tvvelve Cæsars* (1606), "To the Readers"].

[245] The available corpus of material can only be approached through bibliographies, notably John J. Parry, *A Bibliography of Arthurian Critical Literature* (New York, 1931 ff.), and the *Bulletin bibliographique de la Société Internationale Arthurienne* (Paris, 1949 ff.). But the following studies are pertinent to our purposes: Edwin Greenlaw, *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), chap. I; Charles B. Millican, *Spenser and the Table Round* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932); E. K.

Chambers, *Arthur of Britain* (1927), chap. IV; Roberta F. Brinkley, *Arthurian Legend in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore, 1932); Ernest Jones, *Geoffrey of Monmouth 1640–1800, UCE,* V (1944), 357–377; and T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (1950). John Leland's great defense of Arthur is also readily accessible: *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii* (1544), trans. Richard Robinson (1582), ed. William A. Mead, *EETS*:OS, CLXV (1925). By contrast, the only study exclusively concerned with Brut is the delightful essay by George Gordon, "The Trojans in Britain," *E&S,* IX (1924), 9–30 [revised in *Discipline of Letters* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 35–58]; but Kendrick has also collected much valuable information (esp. chap. III, VI, VII *passim*), while S. K. Heninger, Jr., has lately written on "The Tudor Myth of Troy-novant," *South Atlantic Quarterly,* LXI (1962), 378–387. For two more specialized studies, see A. E. Parsons, "The Trojan Legend in England: Some Instances of its Application to the Politics of the Times," *Modern Language Review,* XXIV (1929), 253–264, 394–408, and Sydney Anglo, "The *British History* in Early Tudor Propaganda," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* XLIV (1961), 17–48. The ground covered by Parson is less satisfactorily surveyed by E. M. W. Tillyard, *Some Mythical Elements in English Literature* (1961), chap. III (2).

[246] Ed. Acton Griscom (1929); trans. Sebastian Evans (1904). The best study of the work and its influence is by J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain* (Berkeley, 1950).

[247] Notwithstanding the severe attacks on Geoffrey by his contemporaries William of Newburgh and Giraldus Cambrensis (James Gairdner, *England* [1883], pp. 167 f.). See further Laura Keeler, *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Late Latin Chroniclers 1300–1500, UCE,* XVII (1946).

[248] Henry of Huntington, *Historia Anglorum,* ed. Thomas Arnold, *RB* (1879); Walter of Coventry, *Historical Collections,* ed. William Stubbs, *RB* (1872–1873), 2 vols.

[249] *The Story of England,* ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, *RB* (1887), 2 vols. Typical of the numerous other abbreviated versions is *An Anonymous Short Metrical Chronicle,* ed. Ewald Zettl, *EETS*:OS, CXCVI (1935).

[250] Among the accounts in prose: the anonymous *Le livere de reis de Brittanie* and *Le livere de reis de Engletere,* ed. and trans. John Glover, *RB* (1865); John of Wavrin, *Recueil des croniques et auchiennes istories de la Grand Bretaigne,* ed. and trans. William Hardy, *RB* (1864–1891), 8 vols.; and *Brut d'Engleterre,* the translation of which has been edited by F. W. D. Brie, *The Brut, EETS*:OS, CXXXI (1906) and CXXXVI (1908). Among the metrical versions: *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft,* ed. Thomas Wright, *RB* (1866–1868), 2 vols.

[251] *The Historie of Scotland,* trans. James Dalrymple, ed. E. G. Cody (Edinburgh, 1888), I, 5. Dalrymple's version (1596) was made from Lesley's *De origine, moribus, et rebus gentis Scotorum* (Rome, 1579). For another Scots account of Brut, see Andrew of Wyntoun, above (n. 138), II, 126–127.

[252] John E. Housman, "Higden, Trevisa, Caxton, and the Beginnings of Arthurian Criticism," *RES,* XXIII (1947), 209–217.

[253] Gilmore, above (n. 182), p. 15.

[254] *The Pastyme of People* (1529), "Prologus." Among "other pepull" besides Continental writers who later attacked Brut was George Buchanan, who branded the legend "the most notorious and impudent Falshood" (*Rerum Scoticarum Historia* [Edinburgh, 1582; trans., 1690], p. 41). But all Scots writers did not react the same way (as Gordon suggests, above [n. 245], pp. 21–22). Besides Lesley, the story of Brut was regarded as authentic by Boece (*The Hystory and Croniklis of Scotland,* trans. John Bellenden [Edinburgh, 1537?], sig. Bi^1) and by John Major (*Historia Maioris Britanniæ* [1521], trans. Archibald Constable, Publications of the Scottish History Society [Edinburgh, 1892], X, 3).

[255] 1st ed., 1534; revised in 1546, 1555. A translation made in the later sixteenth

century has been edited by Sir Henry Ellis, *Polydore Vergil's English History* (1844–46), 2 vols.; Bks. XXVI–XXVII, covering the period from 1485 to 1537, ed. and trans. Denys Hay (1950). The best study is by Denys Hay, *Polydore Vergil: Renaissance Historian and Man of Letters* (Oxford, 1952).

[256] For a more reasoned defense of Brut, see Sir John Price, *Historiae Brytannicae Defensio* (1573), pp. 40 ff.

[257] *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, l. 13.

[258] For example, the anonymous *A Breuiat Chronicle, contaynyng all the Kynges, from Brute to this day* (1551) reached, within a decade, a 9th revised edition. Inevitably, there were Latin versions as well: "E.S.," *De rebus gestis Britanniæ commentarioli tres* (1570?).

[259] *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* (1565), pp. 9 ff.

[260] *The First Volume of the Chronicles* (1577), p. 9.

[261] Spenser's account of Brut is in III, ix, 47 ff. See further: C. A. Harper, *The Sources of the British Chronicle History of Spenser's Faerie Queene* (Philadelphia, 1910), partially reprinted with other pertinent material in *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, Variorum ed. (Baltimore, 1933), pp. 449–455; and particularly Isabel E. Rathborne, *The Meaning of Spenser's Fairyland* (New York, 1937), esp. chap. II *passim*. Cf. above, n. 245.

[262] Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), p. 51.

[263] *Britain*, trans. Philemon Holland (1637), p. 6. See the estimates by Sir Maurice Powicke, "William Camden," *E&S*, n.s., I (1948), 67–84; Stuart Piggott, "William Camden and the *Britannia*," *PBA*, XXXVII (1951), 199-217; and above: Fussner (n. 212), chap. IX, and Kendrick (n. 245), chap. VIII.

[264] See Denys Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea* (Edinburgh, 1957), pp. 48 f., 108 f. As Professor Hay rightly points out, the idea of a common Trojan origin contributed—"in its odd fashion"—to the unity of European society (p. 109).

[265] The legend is recounted by Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, VIII, v, 1–4. Yet the seemingly endless Trojan hordes managed to reach even Portugal; a peninsula southeast of Lisbon is called, to this day, Tróia.

[266] *Histoire generale d'Espagna* (1586); trans. Edward Grimeston, *The Generall Historie of Spain* (1612), p. 1.

[267] *Inventaire general de l'histoire de France*, 1st complete ed. (Paris, 1600); trans. Edward Grimeston, *A General Inventorie of the Historie of France* (1607), sig. $A4^1$. The rise and fall of the Trojan legend in France is set forth in the classic study of A. Joly, *Benoit de Sainte-More et le Roman de Troie* (Paris, 1870–1871), chap. VIII.

[268] Above (n. 174), p. 10.

[269] *The History of Great Britaine* (1611), p. 164. But lest we think of Speed as being totally "modern," we should remember that he accepted the legend of Joseph of Arimathea's sojourn to Britain.

[270] Richard Harvey, *Philadelphvs, or a Defence of Brutes, and the Brutans History* (1593), p. 2.

[271] Edmund Howes, "An Historical Preface" to his continuation of Stow's *Annales* (1631). Francis Godolphin made the same point, though at least he also acknowledged that "*Polydore Virgill* in the opinion of most excelleth" (*Annales of England*, trans. Morgan Godwin [1630], "The Avthovrs Preface"). But the prejudice against Vergil persisted; as late as 1663, he was still viewed by some as a "man not much to be trusted for his relation of English affairs" (Edward Leigh, *Fœlix Consortium* [1663], p. 354).

[272] *The First Part of the Historie of England* (1612), p. 2. See further May McKisack, "Samuel Daniel as Historian," *RES*, XXIII (1947), 226–243, and Rudolf B. Gottfried, "Samuel Daniel's Method of Writing History," *SRen*, III (1956), 157–174. Cf. Seronsy, below, n. 280.

[273] *The Historie of Great Britannie* (1606), p. 2. Accordingly Clapham's account begins with the arrival of the Romans.

[274] Song I of Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612; completed 1622) contains a lengthy account of Brut, with a prose commentary in his defense. Of versifiers, John Taylor the Water Poet did not fail to produce *A Memorial of all the English Monarchs . . . from Brute* (1622).

[275] *The History of the Parliament of England* (1647) begins, accordingly, with the reign of Elizabeth; after a brief survey of the conditions under her successor, May dwells capitally on the rise of parliamentary power under Charles I.

[276] *Historical Memoires* (1658), "The Epistle."

[277] *England's Worthies* (1660), p. 8. Winstanley is specifically referring to Arthurian legends; he did not even condescend to mention Brut. Fifteen years later Sir Winston Churchill in *Divi Britannici* (1675), pp. 51–52, was significantly indifferent about the legend of Brut ("I leave it to the free Censure of each Reader").

[278] Donald A. Stauffer, *English Biography before 1700* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930); F. P. Wilson, *Seventeenth Century Prose* (Berkeley, 1960), chap. III.

[279] *Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning* (1605), Bk. II; *The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seuenth* (1622). See the estimates by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, "Bacon as Historian," *CR,* CXXIII (1923), 606–614; Wilhelm Busch, *England under the Tudors,* trans. A. M. Todd (1895), I, 416–423; Leonard F. Dean, "Sir Francis Bacon's Theory of Civil History-Writing," *ELH,* VIII (1941), 161–183; Vincent Luciani, "Bacon and Guicciardini," *PMLA,* XLII (1947), 96–113; Thomas Wheeler, "The Purpose of Bacon's *History of Henry the Seventh*," *SP,* LIV (1957), 1–13, and "Bacon's Henry VII as a Machiavellian Prince," *Renaissance Papers 1957* (Durham, N.C., 1957), pp. 111–117; and Fussner, above (n. 212), chap. X.

[280] *The Faerie Queene,* VI, i, 1–2. On the "cyclical" view of history during the Renaissance, see—in addition to the studies cited above (n. 189)—Herbert Weisinger, "Ideas of History during the Renaissance," *JHI,* VI (1945), 415–435; Hiram Haydn, *The Counter-Renaissance* (New York, 1950), pp. 428 ff.; Raymond Chapman, "The Wheel of Fortune in Shakespeare's Historical Plays," *RES,* n.s., I (1950), 1–7, and "Fortune and Mutability in Elizabethan Literature," *Cambridge Journal,* V (1952), 374–382; Samuel C. Chew, "Time and Fortune," *ELH,* VI (1939), 83–113; Cecil C. Seronsy, "The Doctrine of Cyclical Recurrence and Some Related Ideas in the Works of Samuel Daniel," *SP,* LIV (1957), 387–407; and esp. Ernest L. Tuveson, *Millennium and Utopia* (Berkeley, 1949), pp. 56–75.

[281] Harry Glicksman, *The Sources of Milton's "History of Britain,"* University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, XI (1921), 140. Besides this entire study, see also Sir Charles Firth, "Milton as an Historian," *PBA,* III (1908–1909), 227–257 [reprinted in *Essays Historical & Literary* (Oxford, 1938), pp. 61–202]; J. Milton French, "Milton as a Historian," *PMLA,* L (1935), 469–479; Merritt Y. Hughes, "Milton's Treatment of Reformation History in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*," in *The Seventeenth Century* by Richard Jones *et al.* (Stanford, 1951), pp. 247–263; Ernest Sirluck, "Milton's Critical Use of Historical Sources: An Illustration," *MP,* L (1953), 226–231; Constance Nicholas, *Introduction and Notes to Milton's "History of Britain,"* Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, XLIV (1957); and Harris F. Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton* (Urbana, 1961), II, 323–336. Lloyd S. Berry suggests (in *RES,* n.s., XI [1960], 150–156) that Milton's *History* was probably written *ca.* 1632–1638.

[282] Ed. Ellis, above (n. 255), I, 33.

[283] The best account of Milton's gradual revision of his plans is by Brinkley, above (n. 245), pp. 126–141.

[284] *Epitaphium Damonis,* ll. 162–165; from Helen Waddell's free but admirable

translation, reprinted in *Milton's "Lycidas": The Tradition and the Poem,* ed. C. A. Patrides (New York, 1961), p. 24.

[285] *Works* (New York, 1932), X, 3.

[286] *The Cabinet-Council: Containing the Chief Arts of Empire, and Mysteries of State* (1658). Nonetheless, this work bears Machiavelli's imprint all too clearly. See Nadja Kempner, *Raleghs staatstheoretische Schriften* (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 32 ff., 62 ff.

[287] Malcolm M. Ross, "Milton and the Protestant Aesthetic," *University of Toronto Quarterly,* XVII (1947–48), 351.

[288] "A Hymne of the Nativity," in *Steps to the Temple* (1646); augmented as "In the Holy Nativity of our Lord: A Hymn," in *Carmen Deo Nostro* (1652).

[289] Lines 157–167. Quotations from the *Nativity Ode* and *Paradise Lost* are from *The Poetical Works of John Milton,* ed. Helen Darbishire (Oxford, 1952–1955), 2 vols.

[290] Rosemond Tuve, *Images and Themes in Five Poems by Milton* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), p. 39.

[291] *Aeneid,* VI, 757 ff.; *Os Lusíadas,* X, 7 ff.; *La Gerusalemme Liberata,* XVIII, 92 ff.; *The Faerie Queene,* II, x; etc. The "vision" of history in *Paradise Regained* (III, 243 ff.) is obviously ironic, for it is called forth by Satan for the benefit of Christ—the very center of history.

[292] *A Sermon . . . furnysshed with heuenly wisedome,* trans. Thomas Lupset (1542), sig. $C5^{1}$.

[293] XII, 232–233; cf. 241, 291. An indispensable supplement to the studies of typology cited above (n. 33) is Helen Gardner's perceptive discussion of "the historical sense" underlying Renaissance typology; in *The Limits of Literary Criticism* (1956), lect. III. Cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines,* 2nd ed. (1960), p. 71.

[294] *Seriatim:* E. M. W. Tillyard, *Milton* (1930), p. 279; David Daiches, *Milton* (1957), p. 210 (cf. his similar comment in *The Living Milton,* ed. Frank Kermode [1960], p. 59); Sir Walter Raleigh, *Milton* (1900), p. 164; W. Menzies, "Milton: The Last Poems," *E&S,* XXIV (1939), 85.

[295] V, 577 ff., and XII, 549–550; respectively. According to George W. Whiting, *Milton and this Pendant World* (Austin, 1958), chap. VI, the epic's broad span of "time and eternity" conforms to the traditional pattern of the Six Ages. But I have found no evidence for this conjecture.

[296] B. Rajan, *"Paradise Lost" and the Seventeenth Century Reader* (1947), p. 48; Grant McColley, *"Paradise Lost," HTR,* XXXII (1939), 186–187; Watson Kirkconnel, *The Celestial Cycle* (Toronto, 1952), pp. 114, 309. Though Milton accepted this tradition in *De Doctrina Christiana* (*Works,* XV, 106), we should also note the frequent claim that Christ is "figured and signified to vs vnder the tipe of Michaell" (Heinrich Bullinger, *A Hvndred Sermons vpõ the Apocalips,* trans. John Daws [1561], p. 356; but also Augustin Marlorat, *Exposition vpon the Reuelation,* trans. Arthur Golding [1574], fols. 174 f.; Niels Hemmingsen, *The Faith of the Chvrch,* trans. Thomas Rogers [1581], p. 12; John Boys, *An Exposition of al the Principall Scriptures* [1610–15], IV, 98; Thomas Taylor, *Christs Victorie* [1633], pp. 341 f.; John Robinson, *Endoxa* [1658], p. 30; *et al.*).

[297] III, 323 ff.; XI, 900–1; XII, 458 ff., 544 ff. On Milton's eschatological ideas, see C. A. Patrides, "Renaissance and Modern Thought on the Last Things," *HTR,* LI (1958), 169–185.

[298] First observed in another connection by William Empson, "Emotions in Words Again," *Kenyon Review,* X (1948), 567–601 [revised in *The Structure of Complex Words* (1951), pp. 101–104].

[299] "All" is directly related to the traditional concept of "recapitulation" discussed by C. A. Patrides, "Milton and the Protestant Theory of the Atonement," *PMLA,* LXXIV (1959), 7–13.

[300] C. A. Patrides, "The 'Protevangelium' in Renaissance Theology and *Paradise Lost*," *Studies in English Literature,* III (1963), 19–30.

[301] See esp. XII, 148–150, 233–235, 325–330, 379–380. Critics have on the whole failed to appreciate that Books XI and XII, as Arnold Stein rightly observed, "fulfill the rhythm of the poem" (*Answerable Style* [Minneapolis, 1953], p. 161). The best discussion of their "poetic effect" is by F. T. Prince, "On the Last Two Books of *Paradise Lost*," *E&S,* n.s., XI (1958), 38–52; but William G. Madsen has also studied them as "an integral part of the poetic and intellectual structure" of *Paradise Lost,* in "The Idea of Nature in Milton's Poetry," *Three Studies in the Renaissance,* Yale Studies in English, CXXXVIII (1958), 256 ff. See further Joseph H. Summers, *The Muse's Method* (1962), chap. VIII, and Lawrence A. Sasek, "The Drama of *Paradise Lost,* Books XI and XII," *Studies in English Renaissance Literature,* ed. Waldo F. McNeir (Baton Rouge, 1962), pp. 181–196.

[302] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis,* XVI, 16 (*PG,* XXXIII, 941).

[303] Not even Sir Richard Blackmore: neither his *Creation* (1712) nor his *Redemption* (1722) is relevant; both are merely polemical treatises, accidentally cast in verse form. As for Charles Perrault's "epic" *Adam* (Paris, 1692–1697)—a sweeping view of universal history from the creation to the Last Judgment—as a poem it is largely a failure. See R. A. Sayce, *The French Biblical Epic in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 142 ff.

[304] W. J. Sparrow Simpson, *A Study of Bossuet* (1937), p. 4. See further Georges Hardy, *Le "Civitate Dei" source principale du "Discours sur l'histoire universelle"* (Paris, 1913).

[305] *A Discourse on the History of the World,* trans. Anon. (1686), pp. 437–438. For estimates of Bossuet, see Patrick J. Barry, "Bossuet's *Discourse on Universal History*," *CHR,* XX (1934–1935), 260–280 [reprinted in Guilday, above (n. 109), pp. 149–186]; Löwith, above (n. 59), chap. VII; R. de la Broise, *Bossuet et la Bible* (Paris, 1891), chap. VII.

[306] But first published in 1702. See the well-documented studies by Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, *The Puritans* (New York, 1938), chap. I; Kenneth B. Murdock, *Literature and Theology in Colonial New England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), chap. III, and "Clio in the Wilderness: History and Biography in Puritan New England," *Church History,* XXIV (1955), 221–238; Edward K. Trefz, "The Puritans' View of History," *Boston Public Library Quarterly,* IX (1957), 115–136; and Larzer Ziff, *The Career of John Cotton* (Princeton, 1962), esp. chap. VIII.

[307] Largely written in 1739, the incomplete version was first published in 1774; available in *Works* (1830), III, 165–436. Douglas J. Elwood, in *The Philosophical Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (New York, 1960), pp. 45–47, expounds Edwards' Christocentric theory of history but fails to comment on its affinities with the traditional viewpoint; Perry Miller's account in *Jonathan Edwards* (New York, 1949), pp. 307 ff., is more balanced.

[308] *Dramatic Works* (1932), III, 460.

[309] *Ibid.,* p. 461. Instead of Christ, Dryden preferred another remarkable person as "hero"; see Albert Ball, "Charles II: Dryden's Christian Hero," *MP,* LIX (1961), 25–35.

[310] The best introduction to Voltaire is his article on history in the *Dictionnaire philosophique;* his most pertinent work is the *Essai sur les mœurs e l'esprit des nations* (1756), originally intended as a continuation of Bossuet's *Discours,* but resulting in an attack upon the traditional viewpoint. See Sir James F. Stephen, "Voltaire as a Theologian, Moralist, and Metaphysician," *Horae Sabbaticae,* 2nd Series (1892), pp. 211–228; John B. Black, *The Art of History* (1926), pp. 29–75; Friedrich Meinecke, *Die Entstehung des Historismus* (Munich and Berlin, 1936), I, 78–124; Werner Kaegi, "Voltaire und der Zerfall des christlichen Geschichtsbildes," *Corona,* VIII

(1938), 76–101; H. Linn Edsall, "The Idea of History and Progress in Frontenelle and Voltaire," *Yale Romanic Studies,* XVIII (1941), 163–184; Emery Neff, *The Poetry of History* (New York, 1947), chap. I; Wilhelm Weischedel, "Voltaire," in Stadelmann, above (n. 147), pp. 149–172; Richard M. Saunders, "Voltaire's View of the Meaning of History," *University of Toronto Quarterly,* XXII (1952), 44–54; G. P. Gooch, "Voltaire as Historian," *Catherine the Great and Other Studies* (1954), pp. 199–274; Ferdinand Schevill, *Six Historians* (Chicago, 1956), pp. 93–123; Jerome Rosenthal, "Voltaire's Philosophy of History," *JHI,* XVI (1955), 151–178; and the full account by J. H. Brumfitt, *Voltaire: Historian* (1958), with further references. See further above, n. 201.

[311] Anthologies inevitably form the best introduction: *Varieties of History,* ed. Fritz Stern (New York, 1956); *The Philosophy of History in our Time,* ed. Hans Meyerhoff (New York, 1959); *Approaches to History,* ed. H. P. R. Finberg (1962); and esp. *Philosophy in the Mid-Century,* ed. Raymond Klibansky (Florence, 1958), III, 158–188, and *Theories of History,* ed. Patrick Gardiner (Glencoe, Ill., 1959), both with extensive bibliographies. In our time we have many outstanding spokesmen for the Christian view of history (above, n. 9: Berdyaev, Daniélou, D'Arcy, Dawson, Niebuhr, Tillich, *et al.*). But since they do not enjoy universal acceptance, I felt that the "decline" specified in my title was justified after all.

[312] *Paradise Lost,* II, 561; cf. above, n. 65.

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C. A. P.

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